President: Honourable members may have seen that in consonance with the suggestions made by the Government of India, we have had to declare Monday also a local holiday. There is going to be a Military and Police parade on that day and that will be in line with similiar parades all over India and there will be a public meeting. I am very sorry that both in this Honourable House and elsewhere the non-official day has fallen a sacrifice to this programme. I propose, however, if the House so decides, to give one more non-official day in the next session for both the Houses. That I think will meet the needs of the cause. With discussion on the report of the Education Reorganisation Committee, this House will be adjourned *sine die* and as soon as the legislative business is ripe for disposal, there will be another meeting of both the Houses and one more non-official day will be allowed to either House.

I have suggested to Mr. Papworth that he should though he took some time to explain the general ideals of the schemes in the other House—try to make his speech here in a shorter compass. In view of the fact that he was present at the debate in the other House and the difficulties felt by certain members were also presented to him, he would be able to deal with them today and thereby anticipate much discussion that may otherwise take place here. I am therefore, extending the usual time and allowing him to explain the main features of the scheme.

I am also authorising him to move formally that the report be adopted. I shall deal with the motions by way of amendments to this motion so that we can vote on those resloutions separately and then finally deal with the question whether the House approves of or disapproves of the scheme as a whole.

The election of two members to the P. W. Advisory Committee, one member to the Standing Finance Committee, one member to the Public Accounts Committee and two members of the Committee of Privileges of the Legislature will take place after the day's business is over.

Mr. H. C. Papworth (*Pro-Vice-Chancellor*): Sir, in moving that the report of the Education Reorganisation Committee be adopted by this House, may I be allowed to begin as I did when addressing the other House, by saying that it has been a very great pleasure and a very great privilege to me to be called upon to preside over the deliberations of such a helpful and representative body as the Education Reorganisation Committee. As honourable members will be aware, that Committee consisted of 43 members, representing all grades of education, from the lowest to the highest,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

representing Government interests in educational matters and private interests too, together with representatives of this legislature and of business, commerce and industry. So, the Committee was as representative of all the interests in Travancore as any Committee could possibly be.

The Committee's terms of reference were to enquire into the existing educational system in the State and to formulate proposals for its re-organisation with due regard to post-war developments. My colleagues and I have conscientiously endeavoured to examine as impartially as we could, the existing educational system in Travancore and to submit to Government proposals which in our opinion, will make for necessary reform. If I may say so, one of the most valuable features of this report is its unanimity. All the members have signed it and there is no dissenting minute or minority report. I think that this unanimity cannot fail to be of the utmost value, considering the representative nature of the Committee to which I have already referred. Naturally we have achieved this unanimity by deliberately concentrating upon the big things, upon the main and fundamental principles of educational reform. We have deliberately eschewed all personal and sectional interests and I think that we were right in doing so. I think we were right in refraining from dealing with small details of administrative importance, which may well be left to be worked out by those who will be charged with the duty of gradually implementing this report. In concentrating on matters of fundamental importance, we have endeavoured to put before the Government, to whom this Report has been submitted, a unified scheme of educational reform which we consider to be necessary and desirable especially in view of the inevitable post-war developments, political, economic and social.

As I said in the other House, no subject has been dissussed so much during the last 25 years in India, and indeed throughout the world, as this question of educational reform. Leaving aside what has happened in other countries where revolutionary changes have taken place in the educational system during the past ten and even fewer years, we know that in India discussions on the prevailing system of education and suggestions for its radical reform have been taking place in every Commission and every Committee that has investigated this question. For the last 20 years the Central Advisory Board of education has met annually and has explored every detail of the educational system which prevails throughout India and has made elaborate suggestions for reforms and changes.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. H. C. Papworth.]

Coming to more recent times, the education Adviser to the Government of India, Mr. Sargent, has spent his five years in this country in touring all the Provinces and States and acquainting himself, with an open mind, with the conditions that prevail and charged himself with the duty of formulating a scheme of reform. That scheme of reform was embodied recently in a Report which has become historic. That Report for which Mr. Sargent was mainly responsible after having collected information and taken advice of almost every prominent educationist and administrator he could find, has now been adopted by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

But that Report has an all-India atmosphere. That Report is written from an all-India point of view, and as such it is of the utmost value. But a study of that Report convinces everybody that a comprehensive scheme of that kind, valuable as it is, cannot be brought into effect *in toto* in every Province and every State. The all-India atmosphere of the Report is valuable, but when we begin to take into consideration the marked difference in educational progress and standard between one Province and another and between one State and another, we find it is quite impossible to adopt it *in toto*. For instance, the conditions in Travancore and conditions in Assam are poles asunder. The scheme of change for which Travancore may be very ready and prepared, would be very premature in other States and Provinces which are more backward educationally. Therefore, it is in my opinion the duty of every Province and every State to study the fundamental principles of educational reform which may be universally accepted, and to modify and adapt those principles to their own needs and conditions. It was for that purpose that the Government of Travancore appointed this Reorganisation Committee, charged with the duty of examining the educational system in the State and of submitting proposals for its re-organisation with due regard to post-war conditions. That is exactly what we have tried to do. In many of our recommendations we have followed traditional schemes of reform, schemes and ideas the necessity for which is accepted everywhere. On the other hand we have modified and adapted many of those principles in order to bring them into line with local needs and traditions.

In addressing the other House, before I invited their attention to some of the details of this re-organised scheme, I pointed out

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

that many of these recommendations have become almost axiomatic. Educationists throughout India are agreed upon the majority of the changes which the country needs in the educational system. But in spite of the fact that these changes have been recognised as necessary by all committees and commissions which have been sitting during the past 20 years, we find a certain hesitancy on the part of Provinces and States to take the lead in implementing them. We find a certain fear of being pioneers in introducing schemes of educational reform, about which there is very little doubt as to their desirability and necessity. Every Province and every State seems to look to what its neighbours are going to do and seems to be afraid to take the lead, so that everybody is waiting for somebody else to be the pioneer and that is why, in spite of these Committees and Commissions which have examined this question in India; very little has been done. I think in Travancore we are favourably situated. The percentage of literacy is very high. Our people's love for education is exceedingly great and we have the facilities which will enable us, if we are willing, to be pioneers and to take the lead. I gave before the Assembly two examples of that, which I will repeat here. I pointed out to the Assembly that it was admitted on all hands that it is wrong to allow young children of 14 and 15 years of age to join a University. It is also wrong to begin a University course of study with courses of a sub-University standard which admittedly our present Intermediate Courses are. Our present intermediate courses, with which we have to begin, are not really University courses of study at all. They are courses of sub-University standard. But as long as we deceive children by telling them that by passing a school leaving examination, which is designed or should be designed for an entirely different purpose, as long as we tell them that by passing that examination and getting a certificate of a general all-round school education which they have satisfactorily undergone, they are *ipso facto* qualified to continue the study of those subjects up to the higher level and admit them into Universities at that youthful age, we are bound to begin University study with this intermediate course of a sub-University standard. Yet though these two problems are inter-related, few Universities and Governments have taken the lead and have said that the School Leaving Certificate Examination shall be the hall-mark of a general all-round education which a boy or a girl of 15 or 16 ought to have and leaving the Universities to fulfil their rightful functions and to prescribe proper standards of admission. In this Report you will find recommendations and suggestions that anomalies of that kind should

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. H. C. Papworth.]

be squarely faced and bravely removed. You will find many departures from what I venture to call without fear of contradiction bad traditions of that kind. As I have said some of our recommendations follow, as they inevitably and naturally must, the universally accepted principles of educational reform, the adoption of which in our opinion is long over-due throughout India, while there are also specific and particular references to the conditions in Travancore.

With these introductory remarks in which I have illustrated the spirit in which we have tried and endeavoured to discharge our duty, I will invite the attention of the House to some of the particular features. The main features in the Report (I will confine myself to what may be called the general educational system) are schools, — primary, middle and high—the University, and also technical and commercial education which is a novelty in this Report and to which we attach the highest importance.

As our report says, we began our work by a study of the statistics which were available to us covering the last three years, and as far as primary education was concerned, we came to the conclusion that primary education as a voluntary measure had reached, in Travancore, its utmost limits and that any extension of primary education would inevitably involve the introduction of compulsion, That, of course, is not so everywhere. But in Travancore, and here we had the great assistance of the Vice-Chairman, the Director of Public Instruction—it seemed to us that every child who wanted to go to school, went to school, and it was only those who were prevented from going to schools, who stayed away. Various reason like poverty, the lack of proper nutrition or adequate clothing, or more often the indifference or unwillingness on the part of their parents accounted for those who had no kind of schooling. And any extension of primary education would bring just that section of the population to the school. So we came to the conclusion that the next logical step would be the introduction of compulsion. And in accordance with world-wide opinion, all compulsory education must be free. That being so, we naturally felt that a very deep study must be made of the content of primary education because, if you are going to give children primary education, you must realise that for many of them, perhaps even for a

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

majority of them, that will be the only schooling that they will get, and that, at the end of the primary stage will be the first big diversion stage from the school into what I may call livelihood. Therefore primary education must set itself out to achieve a very definite object. It must not be desultory; it must not be a course to which children are sent for a certain number of years, but it must have as its object the makings of citizenship. From that stand-point we realised that the present primary schools of four years duration do not adequately fulfil any purpose at all. After all, the main objective of compulsory elementary education is the achievement of literacy, and compulsory elementary education must be such in content and length as will not only insure literacy but also, ensure, as far as is humanly possible, against a relapse into illiteracy. For that purpose, most educationists are agreed that five years constitute the minimum period. We have statistical evidence that there is a very large and widespread lapse into illiteracy after a three or four years' course and so we have recommended that primary education shall be so re-organised that it should be compulsory and of five years duration with the object of attaining, to use the conventional phrase, literacy. By literacy, I do not mean, and my colleagues do not mean either, the mere ability to sign your name instead of making a thumb impression on a piece of paper. I have heard that in some places children have been given a present of Rs. 2 in order to make them learn to sign their names, and then they were counted amongt the literates in the census. That is not what we hope to achieve. By literacy we mean the ability to read, write and speak in the mother tongue, the ability to do simple arithmetic so that a person can look after his own simple affairs, to have sufficient knowledge at any rate about the history and geography of his own country to make him an intelligent citizen and lastly, to acquire those characteristics, mental and moral, which make for good, sound citizenship. I realise that many of our critics will say—Mr. Sargent amongst others—that they have every reason to think that five years is not long enough. Most educationists are agreed that the ideal period of compulsory basic education, as it is often called, is eight years. That may be so, but we have to be realists and we have to face facts. We have to take into account the present conditions of optional primary education of four years in length which does not achieve the object that it should achieve. We have to take into account the financial resources of the State. I have told the other House that on a rough computation, if we accept the Central Advisory Board's scheme in toto with regard to primary education, it would cost us Rs. 6½ crores per annum. So you see that an eight years' course is quite impracticable. But most educationists are agreed that

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. H. C. Papworth]

five years is the minimum required, with good teaching and good-will on the part of the parents and the public to achieve the essential objects which primary education is meant to achieve.

I spoke just now about good teachers, for after all, every scheme of education depends ultimately upon the soundness of the teacher. There is a phrase in the report of the Central Advisory Board that school teachers throughout India are miserably paid, and it must be our endeavour to see that school teachers receive an adequate living wage which will enable them to live with self-respect and with the respect of their neighbours. They must enjoy security of service and emoluments which will keep them free from penury and anxiety. We have emphasised in several places in the report that there should be no distinction with regard to pay, conditions of service and privileges between the private primary school teacher and the Government school teacher. After all the amount of wages that you will be able to afford to pay them is, in any case, limited, but you must see that is as adequate as you can possibly afford. In the other House there were resolutions and amendments raising the scale of pay which we ourselves have recommended. We have recommeded Rs. 20—25 for teachers and 30—40 for headmasters. We made that recommendation on an acturial basis. We took into account another recommendation which we were going to make, namely, that the Government grant which should be given should be 75 per cent of the teachers' salary. And in recommending that Government grant to private schools, we have concentrated on the payment of teachers' salaries. We have recommended this because all schemes of education, reformed or conservative, depend for their adequacy and success ultimately on the standard of the teacher. We have, therefore, advised Government that this is *the* thing on which they should concentrate when estimating their available resources, and so we recommended that in the case of the private schools Government should pay 75 per cent of the teacher's salary. The actual scales that we have recommended have been worked out on the basis that Government might be willing to accept this recommendation to pay 75 per cent. of the teachers' salary to the private managements. In the other House an amendment was passed that Government should make themselves entirely responsible for primary education throughout the State. In other words instead of paying 75 per cent, Government should pay 100 per cent. I suppose the idea at the back of the minds of the honourable members of the House was that when Government is making a grant of 75 per cent, and at the same time perhaps continuing, as they hope, other grants which might raise the total to 80, 90 or 95 per cent,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Government might just as well take charge of all primary education where no fees are levied, so that there is no fee income, and release private managements of their responsibility, and have complete control over the teachers and their conditions of service. It is for that reason that I had to oppose the amendment in the other House for an increase in the salary scale, because quite apart from one's sympathy, there is what we call 'possibility'. If Government should take up all this, all that we could recommend as a universal measure was this modest scale. We felt that any increase, though desirable, is not possible, if Government should make themselves responsible for primary education. The House was content with a reasonable amendment that all teachers should be paid an adequate living wage.

The next point I want to come to is this. As I have said, this primary school education should be a unit in itself and must definitely achieve that standard of literacy requisite for citizenship to which I have referred. Many people will get no further schooling, but those who will enter manual employment at that age will feel the need for some intensive and specialised training in order to make them skilled artisans, so that they will be able, with knowledge and ability, to find their places in life, young though they be. And that is the point which we have to consider at every diversion stage in the educational plan, that provision must be made at every stage, not merely for going on aimlessly to the next stage, but for some kind of vocational training in agriculture or industry. Some kind of vocational training must be made available for people at every diversion stage and so at the end of the primary school stage, we suggest the establishment of what we call lower grade technical schools in which instruction in earning a living may be given. These schools will be according to the needs and the nature of the various localities; for example, they will be trade schools in some places, they will be more like agricultural schools in some places, industrial schools, cottage industry schools, if you understand the phrase. On page 23 of the report, members will see the various subjects, from which according to the needs of each locality, choice may be made for people diverted at the end of the primary school stage, as well as for those diverted at the end of the next stage. Such things as gardening, tailoring, weaving, spinning, coir work, basket making, mat making, shoe making and repairing, book binding, commercial letter writing, brick work, motor, repairs etc. We have also tried to make special provision for girls.

A pretty long list, but even then not necessarily exhaustive. We hope that by this amalgamation of compulsory primary education lasting for five years, with the facilities for vocational training immediately after we shall be able to foster the growth of good citizens even though the length of their ordinary schooling may be short

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr: H. C. Papworth]

But of course for some, the primary school will lead to the next grade of education, which we call the middle school stage, and here we spent a great deal of time considering the facts as they now exist. Middle school education, or post primary education as it is often called, is now provided in a variety of ways, in Malayalam and Tamil middle schools, in the four classes in schools known as Sanskrit schools and in the Preparatory Class and the first three forms of the English middle schools. Now, the 1933 committee, which had the opportunity, that we had not, of touring the State and examining the schools, condemned this variety of schools, and came to the conclusion that neither in the curriculum nor in the results that they were achieving, were they serving any useful purpose. They found that the Malayalam and Tamil middle schools were merely imitations of the English schools, though perhaps more designed for the poorer members of society. In other words they said quite candidly that the distinction between these types of schools was merely economic. They all gave the same kind of education, purely literary, one imitating the other, with the result that, at the end of the middle school stage which is, and should be the biggest diversion stage of all, the pupils found themselves fit for nothing in particular. That is, I think, the greatest tragedy of the present system of education. You find that pupils have been all moulded along the same lines, all knowing exactly the same thing, but are not fitted for anything in particular. And so, this committee felt that the defects in the post primary education should be remedied and that the Middle schools should not be regarded as an aimless prelude to the High School, but should be regarded as the finishing stage of Primary education. After all, in the opinion of many, 8 years are the minimum time for compulsory education; that period is a complete unit; and therefore we should regard our Middle Schools as the finishing stage of basic education and not as preludes to something else. In that way it should be anticipated that the biggest diversion of pupils into careers will be at the end of the Middle School stage. So we recommend that in future, there should be one type of Middle School. But although we abolish the present distinctions, rather meaningless and economic distinctions as I said just now, between the variety of Middle Schools that we have at present, nevertheless we do introduce variety by having in each one of these Middle schools one or more subjects devoted to an occupational and vocational nature. So we recommend that the Middle School curriculum should be common. That is to say, it should consist of those subjects which every boy or girl between the ages of 10 and 14 should be taught, but that variety should be introduced by having crafts or 'skills', that is, vocational subjects with an occupational bias, in every school for at least one hour a

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

day, and those subjects can be chosen to suit the condition of the locality. If it is an agricultural locality or an industrial locality, whatever it might be, one hour a day should be devoted to something in accordance with the needs of the locality so that you give a child a liking for doing something, not merely learning and imbibing something, and thus make him see that he can be useful and that the knowledge he gains can be applied to work, because it is from work that he will very soon have to make his living.

That leads to a change in the medium of instruction in Middle schools and we recommend that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue. It will of course have the effect of abolishing 'English' schools so-called, and of establishing Tamil Middle Schools in the Tamil area and Malayalam Middle Schools in the Malayalam area. All instruction will be in the mother tongue, English being a compulsory second language from the I form onwards. And the type of English which we recommend uniformly is not the text book type of English which pupils learn at present, but, modern, current, living English such as is written and spoken today, a language which will be necessary for commerce and inter-communication afterwards. The Middle School, therefore, is an entity in itself as well as the finish of basic education. As the pupils acquire education in cultural subjects which every boy and girl ought to know, there is in addition an opportunity to study a subject or two of a vocational nature according to their liking. Then they will be ready to go into life, with or without a further specialised technical training. At the end of the Middle School, we have provided lower grade technical schools in order to make these people really knowledgeable and skilful in the particular trade or occupation that they undertake.

At the end of the Middle School stage we have been constrained to recommend that there should be a public examination. Members who have read the report will have gathered that we are not enamoured of examinations. We recommend that there should be no formal class examinations in Primary Schools, and that in all schools regular class examinations which are confined to one week in the year or half year and which are mere memory tests, should no longer be a method of judging a pupil's progress and his fitness for promotion. We consider, and I think most educationists do too, that examinations of that kind for young pupils—I am not talking about older students, for it does them no harm—have proved psychologically harmful as well as no infallible or adequate test of the state of their development or knowledge. We know that in other countries other methods of testing have been achieved and we think here that in the Faculty of Education in the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr, H. C. Papworth]

University, research should be undertaken to find alternative and more decisive means of judging a person's mental stature and his fitness for further work. But in the absence of alternative schemes for immediate adoption, we have been constrained to recommend the continuance of a public examination at the end of the Middle School stage, the passing of which will decide those who wish to go to the finishing stage of High School education, and also those who wish to undergo any kind of technical and vocational training in the schools which, as I have said, should be provided. Therefore, that will be the weeding-out stage, the big diversion stage.

I will now deal with High School Education.

Now, our High Schools are at present merely pre-University classes. The whole syllabus and curriculum in the High Schools are dominated entirely by University requirements; no other interest creeps in at all. The committee of 1933 observed that English High Schools are functioning almost entirely as pre-University classes, and that condemnation of the High School curriculum and syllabus as merely being a prelude to the University instead of the finishing stage of schooling for life is universal. May I quote what the Central Advisory Board of Education has got to say on that point because that point to my mind is crucial in our scheme of education reorganisation. Honourable members will find it on pages 38 and 39. The Central Advisory Board of Education says:—

> "High School education should on no account be considered simply as a preliminary to university education, but as a stage in itself. In a well-organised system of public education only about one in ten to fifteen of the high school leavers will go on to universities. Consequently, the high schools should attach the utmost importance to preparing the great bulk of their pupils, who will not proceed to universities, for entry into useful and remunerative employment of all kinds immediately on leaving school. It is to be hoped that in the near future with the development of a higher standard of high school education, a school leaving certificate, supplemented where necessary by further training of a technical or commercial type, will come to be regarded as a more normal qualification than a university degree for entry to all but the highest grades both in Government service and business life. A changed outlook of this kind will demand a thorough overhauling of the present organisation and curriculum of high schools."

The committee fully agrees with this view and is anxious that high school education should be overhauled in such a way as to make it the normal finishing stage of education. It must be complete in itself and freed from the domination of university requirements, so that pupils who leave a high school are fit to take their places in life.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

In some cases a further course of specialised training, business or technical, will be required. But pupils at this stage should feel that they require no further general education to fit them for the majority of avocations in life. As I said, that is crucial. In order to implement that, we realised that a variety must be introduced in the High Schools, and here we followed a universal tradition in recent educational reform which has been tried and tested and found good, namely that at the high school stage there should be a bifurcation into two types of high school, which we call 'academic' and 'technical' respectively. Generally speaking, though without rigid differentiation, academic high schools will teach what are usually called the cultural subjects and the pure sciences, while the technical high schools will concentrate on applied sciences and a technical curriculum. That distinction has a vital importance. It has been recommended, I think universally, and wherever it has been tried it has been found from experience that it will equip pupils at the end of the high schools for careers in life.

In the high schools we recommend that the mother-tongue should continue to be the medium of instruction, English being a compulsory second language, and both these types of high school should be of equal status and equal standard. They should lead to a school leaving certificate examination, academic on the one hand and technical on the other, which again should be of equal status and confer equal privileges. A pupil will study the subjects of his choice, his ability, and his aptitude. Pupils in the high schools will not be turned in one common mould which fits them for nothing in particular, but their schooling at this stage will be for the great majority the end of their formal education and will fit them for their careers.

With regard to the technical high schools, we are convinced that the so-called academic subjects should be reduced to the minimum and should be only those which a young boy or girl of that age ought to know. We recommend that there should be no further study of languages as such in the technical branches of the high schools but that the cultural subjects should be those which are enumerated on page 41 ; such things as modern history which we all ought to know, something about current geography, general knowledge with special reference to social problems and current affairs, practical instruction in the use of the English language, elementary science, mathematics and drawing. But the greatest concentration should be upon the technical vocational subjects which should be taken up to a school leaving certificate standard, so that people at that stage will have a good equipment in vocational

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. H. C. Papworth.]

branches of study. There again a wide choice must be given. According to the needs of the locality, industrial resources of the locality and the like, these choices will be made. On page 42 we give as an illustration a long list of subjects from which a choice should be made, carpentry and furniture making, leather work, metal work, castings, plumbings, manufacture of fittings, electricity, electric fittings, mechanics, sanitary engineering, automobile engineering, printing, agriculture, dairy farming, textiles, art (including drawing and designing for industrial and commercial purposes), painting (including mural painting and house decoration), clay modelling and plaster casting, ivory carving, wood carving, kuftgari, music, instrumental and vocal, home science etc. If that stage of education is to be the normal finishing stage of a person's schooling and lead to 90 per cent. of the avenues of life it is very essential that the pupil should be equipped at that stage for life. As I have already suggested, the whole trouble at present is that they are not, and it is therefore inevitable that they go to the University, even though they ought not to do so. They do not feel confident in themselves and there are no openings ready for them. But if, as I said, the possession of a school final certificate should be the normal entrance to all forms of Government service, to business, commerce, industry and to technical work of all kinds, we must see that the provision is made at that stage to complete the high school education and to make these pupils genuinely fit. And here comes the proposition namely, realising that commercial and technical education will be needed to complete both those who have got an academic School Leaving Certificate and technical high school leaving certificate, in order to make... .....

President: Honourable members may, if they so desire, kindly sit for an hour more after our usual time of rising, that is 5-30 P. M., in order that there might be greater chance for discussion and debate. I think that would meet with the wishes of the honourable House. Elections to the committees will take place thereafter. (The House assented to the same).

Mr. H. C. Papworth: Here comes the recommendation for the establishment of a Polytechnic, and this Polytechnic should be of two kinds or two branches. It would be both technological and commercial, in which pupils who possess school leaving certificate may go and acquire a thorough and professional knowledge of the subjects of their choice which will make them fit to enter into their particular vocation or vocations anywhere throughout India. You have got to make your people efficient and fit for work and that should be done at that stage. Therefore we suggest the establishment first of all in Trivandrum of a technological and commercial Polytechnic, into which pupils holding school final certificates may go and qualify themselves for the vocations that are open

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

to them- and we suggest that this Polytechnic should have two kinds of courses, diploma courses of 3 years' duration—in some subjects a diploma course will be completed in 2 years—and a certificate course of two years' duration—some subjects will require only one year—which would lead to examinations or qualifications of all India recognition, so that a person having undergone that course can say "I am fit, I have got all the knowledge, all the data; I am fit to enter such and such vocations in life. Whether I am a success or failure depends upon what I do in the future. But at any rate I am fit here and now." That I think, is the most urgent thing that a young man or woman requires. The great complaint at the present day is that they are not fit for anything in particular. Let me give an example. I think I gave this example to the other House. Supposing a pupil is good at arithmetic, good at figures and feels an interest in statistics and things of that kind, and that he might be suitable for auditing or accountancy or the Finance Department of the Government or the Finance Department of a big firm or bank, he can go into the commercial branch of the Polytechnic and take up the courses which lead, to the examinations conducted by the Institute of Bankers. That is an examination of world-wide recognition. If you take the Englishmen—I think they are mostly Scotsmen—who run some of the big banks in India; you will find that is what they have done. They have got a good secondary school education and they have been to some commercial school and read for the examination of the Institute of Bankers. They have got a thorough knowledge of their subjects and they are fit, as I said, to enter any bank or any Finance Department which requires a knowledge of the use of figures. It is the same in the case of some of the engineering firms, shipping firms, business firms and the like. They want people at that stage with a professional qualification suitable to the particular work that they are calling upon these men to do. Mr. Henderson, who was one of our commercial representatives on the committee, told me quite candidly that under no circumstances would he take a University man into his firm. So we recommend that in the Polytechnic there should be technological and commercial courses, and honourable members will see that on page 53 we recommend that the technical high school leaving certificates should be the entrance qualification for the diploma courses and certificates of proficiency in various branches of technology.

I shall deal with the technical subjects first. It seems to us that instruction up to diploma standard will be essential in agriculture, forestry, civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, chemical

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. H. C. Papworth.]

engineering, textile manufacture, textile chemistry, fisheries technology, home science and fine arts. These diplomas and certificates will lead to employment in superior technical posts in Government service and industry. So much for the technical side. Honourable members will turn over to the next page, where we recommend that in the commercial branch of the Polytechnic, instruction should be given in the following subjects leading as we have said as far as possible to qualifications of all India recognition :—Shorthand and typewriting, elementary accountancy including cost accounts, secretarial practice, commercial and industrial geography, commercial mathematics, commercial English including letter writting, precis writing and indexing, a modern European language other than English, elementary economics, statistics, business organisation and administration, insurance, co-operation, auditing, mercantile law and banking. That central Polytechnic, in my opinion,—excuse me for repeating myself, but I want to emphasise this—is the most urgent and most immediate need. It may have a model technical high school attached to it so that progress from one to the other may be natural and continuous.

That, I think, is a birds-eye-view of what we may call school Eduction; the primary stage, the middle school stage and the high school stage. Then, at the end we finish with the Polytechnic—technical and commercial. Of course, I realise that many high school leavers will be fit for work without going to the Polytechnic. I think that the school certificate without further training should be a sufficient qualification for routine clerks whether in service or industry, but for superior posts in technical and commercial work, the Polytechnic will give exactly the type of training that is required.

Now, may I pass on to talk about University Education. I will not go into it deeply, because it is a matter entirely for the statutory authorities of the University. But I want to show how University Education fits in with what I have just said with regard to schooling. Now, we have recommended that High school education should be overhauled in such a way as to make it the normal finishing stage of education, fitting people, with or without polytechnic training, for the majority of vocations in life, and we have recommended that it should be entirely free from the domination of University requirements. That being so, it is inevitable that we must cease to recognise the School leaving Certificate examination as the entrance examination to the University. There is no half way house in that matter. At present, the School Leaving Certi-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ficate Examination tries to achieve a dual purpose. It tries to be an all round test of a good general schooling, and at the same time a test of ability to continue all those subjects to a much higher standard, and as we all know, it fails and fails miserably. Its primary function, its vital function, is entirely frustrated by a secondary function in trying to test eligibility for entrance to a University. I have often heard it said, and I have said it myself, that the School Leaving Certificate is no guide whatever as to fitness to join a University, and that desire to make it the test of eligibility for a University entirely frustrates its first and rightful purpose; and as long as you recognise the School Leaving Certificate as an entrance examination to the University, try as you might, you will never evolve a High School curriculum which is not dominated by University requirements. It is a practical impossibility, and so we recognise that the School Leaving Certificate examination should be left to achieve its proper purpose and that the University should institute its own entrance examination, the School leaving Certificate having all prerogatives except one. University entrance being that one. We have therefore proposed that the University should institute its own Entrance Examination which should be at least of the standard of the present Intermediate. But this University Entrance Examination will not be on the lines of the present Intermediate where every-body takes the same subjects, but will be in subjects in which the candidates have been able to approach the University standard and in which they have a certain aptitude. They will be allowed to choose their subjects. These subjects will be grouped according to Faculties and candidates may offer, shall we say, a minimum of four subjects. If a condidate wants to enter the Faculty of Arts, he will have to offer subjects Grouped under that Faculty. He will chose his four subjects, for instance, History, Economics, Geography and Sanskrit. But if he wants to offer more than four, if he wants to see whether he is fit for more than one Faculty, there will be nothing to prevent him from offering five or six or seven. In all cases, they will be subjects of his own choice and not compulsory subjects, which are the terror of candidates at present. For instance, a person may be a good Scientist but he cannot now exclusively choose science subjects. But what is proposed is that he will see where his fitness lies and he will be able to enter a Faculty for which he is qualified. That I think is assential if University education is what it ought to be. Of course, this system of necessity and by design, will reduce the number of people who rush to the University. It will put a stop, we earnestly hope, to the aimless procession from the primary

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. H. C. Papworth.]

schools to the middle schools, from the middle schools to the high schools and from the high schools to the University, without at the end of it fitting people for anything in particular. Those who go to the University will be fit by virtue of those subjects which they have chosen and the standard which they have reached in them.

We considered the difficult question of how to prepare people for this University Entrance Examination. Theoretically speaking, I suppose the University ought to have no interest in people until they become under-graduates. You can join an English University by passing an Examination whether you have ever been to school or not. It does not ask you what school examinations you have passed. You can sit for the entrance examination and according to what you have passed and what you have qualified for, you will be admitted to a particular Faculty. But we have got to look to realities. It is not the custom or habit here in Travancore or in South India, so far as my knowledge goes, to encourage any boys and girls of that age to go about seeking private tuition for any public examination. That would encourage the mushroom growth of tutorial colleges which might upset much of the schooling that has been done, and so we have advocated that pre-University classes be established in which pupils should be prepared for the University Entrance Examination. These classes should be for a minimum of one year, though it is quite likely that many would take a longer time if the examination is to be of the standard I have mentioned. We think that these pre-University Schools should be independent entities, just like the training institutes or the school of arts or technical institutes. Those pre-university classes should not be attached to high schools, for then they merely become the 7th form, into which the other forms lead. This 7th form will then dominate the high schools, and this will be fatal to the schools. On the other hand, it is equally fatal to attach them to a University College, because there again it would become tantamount to the Intermediate over again. I hope some of the second grade Colleges will convert themselves into Pre-University schools. I hope also that Government and private agencies will start Pre-University Schools.

President : Honourable Member may finish.

Mr. H. C. Papworth : We do not insist that a candidate must have passed the school leaving. All that we insist upon is that he should have been to school, but if a person, as you can easily see, by-passes the school leaving Examination and merely

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

sits for the University entrance examination, he does so at his risk. Then, according to the subjects a person passes in the University Entrance Examination, depends the Faculty into which he is admitted, and a degree course of three years will follow the entrance examination. I will not go into further details, except to say that the minimum age of entrance to the University should be 17. If you are going to begin Primary Education at the age of 5, a person does not leave school until he is 16, and then, after a year in a Pre-University School, 17 will be the proper age for admission to the University.

There are many other parts of the report with which I cannot deal, like Adult Education, Teaining of Trachers, Hygiene, Inspection, and the like, all of which are matters of great importance and which, I am quite sure, will receive the highest attention and will necessitate deep thought and consideration if the general scheme is accepted and implemented. I trust I have succeeded in giving a birds-eye-view of the main out lines of the scheme which, as I said at the beginning, in some directions, like the two types of High School follows recommendations which have been accepted elsewhere and implemented in many places, and also contains other recommendations which are specially suitable for Travancore.

In all these matters my colleagues on the Committee really feel that we have kept our terms of reference in view. We have departed from conservative traditions where it is necessary, and the scheme which we have put forward is really essential if we are going to take into account the very severe economic competition and the new needs which must inevitably arise very soon. With these remarks, I propose that the report of the Education Reorganisation Committee be adopted by this House.

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : (*Special Officer for Educational Reforms*). I second the proposal.

President : Order, order. This motion has been duly and properly seconded and I shall outline the procedure that will be followed. I am making it clear so that honourable members may so arrange the discussion as to enable the last portion of the debate to be on a scale that may be commensurate with the importance of the subject.

I propose now to deal with the question on the basis of the amending resolutions, and the various propositions of which notice has been given. In other words, the discussion on religious instruction and primary education in private schools, etc., will now take place as if they were discussions on the amendments moved to the resolution

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[President.]

sponsored by Mr. Papworth that the Report be adopted. I trust that having regard to the inescapable exigencies of time, honourable members will concentrate only on the most important topics and reserve their points for what I consider to be the most important aspect of the matter and the most important and useful function—I say it with all respect—namely that this Honourable House should bring to a successful conclusion the general discussion. After the amendments are disposed of, the main resolution will be open for discussion. The honourable members may choose some theme and may concentrate their attention upon that theme. That is the procedure to be adopted ; but before I call upon the mover of the first proposition, there are certain conclusions that—tentative and provisional—which the Government have reached and they would be particularly glad if the honourable House were to express their opinion with reference to those conclusions so that Government may modify or deal with those conclusions as debated upon by this House.

The first of such conclusions in a fundamental one, *viz.*, that Government will, after this honourable House has dealt with this report, and the Senate has also dealt with the report, issue necessary orders for the purpose of carrying out what I concede to be the basic object of this reform—freeing education not only from the incubus of an inevitable University Degree but also from the incubus of Government employment. It is Government's definite desire that a University degree, as such, will no longer, if these reforms come into operation, be a necessary concomitant for introduction to Government service. In fact, Government service and the possession of a University degree will logically have nothing to do with each other. A person who has taken the School Leaving Certificate and has gone through the technical or the commercial avenues indicated in Mr. Papworth's speech, would be entitled not only equally but by preference to an ordinary graduate to enter Government service. The Rules and Regulations are already in contemplation in order to effectuate this end. The University of Travancore will be a University where such people will be turned out as will and to the scientific, and the cultural storehouse of the world. It will not be regarded as a way of selection to the inferior ministerial or clerical services of the Government. In order to satisfy the demand of Government, tests will be held—not as to the 18th century or Anglo-Saxon terminations, but with regard to composition, precis writing, the art of expressing oneself, both in speech and on paper, so as to be easily understood by one's fellow

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

creatures. These are the special tests which the Government will hold and to which admission will be given not only to graduates but to all else. It is on the basis of these tests alone that men to Government service will hereafter be recruited. That is necessary and fundamental. It should be made perfectly clear that a graduate, as such, will have no claims to Government service and that the letters, B.A., M. A., B. L., or M. L. will be disregarded excepting where legal qualifications are necessary or where scientific equipment is essential or where a specific accomplishment is indispensable.

That is one aspect of the matter, and on that I invite the opinion of the honourable House.

The only other matter which is of equal importance is that Government, after the discussions in the country at large and after the discussions in the other honourable House have arrived provisionally at the conclusion that they will take the full responsibility of compulsory primary education throughout the State on a ten-year programme and that in consequence all primary school teachers will become Government servants in future. That is a provisional conclusion at which Government have arrived and on that also I invite discussion of the honourable members.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma (*Trivandrum, Nedumangad cum Chirayinkil*): It has fallen to my lot to initiate the discussion on the Report of the Education Reorganisation Committee, and that too on a very controversial subject. Sir, I move that "This Council recommends to Government that no sort of religious instruction should be given in schools except schools started and maintained for that purpose only and to leave that side of education entirely to the parents of the children."

The wording of the resolution will show that I am not against any sort of religious education. The only question is whether in ordinary institutions like middle schools, high schools and primary schools, religious instruction should be given to the students. I have no hesitation to say that some sort of religious instruction should be given to children by experts according to the wishes of the parents.

Coming to the ordinary child, religious instruction in schools is of no importance because he gets some kind of instruction on religious matters from his parents at home.

Coming to the age of the children and their idea about God and religion, I remember to have read a report of a Harvard University Professor on them. He put the question "What is

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. G. Ravi Varma.]

your idea of God ?" to persons ranging from the age of 7 to 50. The conclusion he arrived at was that children of 7 to 16 years of age were more religious and more godly than persons of higher ages and the most beautiful answers about God came from small children whose answers he considered best. One child aged 7 years gave the reply: "Beautiful as the rose, sweet as the honey in it, scented as the rose, worn by girls on their heads and by boys on their buttonholes; as the one that comes in my dreams." That was the best answer he got. Of the persons to whom the question was put, many of those from 15 to 25 or below 30 years of age complained about God. Above that age, up to 50, many questioned the existence of God. Another instance was.....

President: Where was that ?

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: In an issue of the "Readers' Digest" of America.

President: It must have been before the last war. (*Laughter*).

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: Another instance was brought to my notice. When a boy of 9 years was brought before a Judge in in one of the courts in England,—I think the Judge was Justice McCaurdy, a question arose as to the admissibility of his evidence and whether he knew the significance of what he was speaking, and all that. The Judge put a question to him and arrived at the conclusion that the boy was the best person to give evidence. The Judge put this question to him: "Will you tell us the truth ?" "Yes, Sir," answered the boy. "What will be your fate if you do not tell us the truth ?" asked the Judge. 'God will punish me and make me unhappy. If I tell the truth, he will make me happy." Then the Judge remarked that the boy, of all persons assembled in the Court, knew much more about the subject than all the others. That is the period of life at which human beings are naturally more inclined towards religion and God than at any other period.

The next question is : what is the sort of religious instruction that should be given to these young children. Regarding the children that are studying in schools from the age of 5 to 15, the questions that confront us are : (i) What is the nature of the instruction to be given ? Who should give these instructions ? (iii) What are the qualifications that are to be prescribed for persons who should give these instructions ? (iv) In a land of many religions, what is the religion to be taught ? (v) If it is not the religion of each student, is it the comparative study of religions that is to be taught ?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Further, should the State take the conduct and control of religious education of the people in the State? Is it the State's duty to regulate the conduct between man and God or between man and man? All these questions come before us, and we have to face difficulties of various character. Sir, the word 'religion' has given us more bloodshed, more humbuggism and more hypocrisy than any other word in any language. The correct significance of the word has yet to be understood by many.

Coming to a country like Travancore, where there are so many religions, is it proper that at a general school career these students should be confronted with and asked to know about the various religions that are in existence in this country? Is it not better to leave that side of education to the parents of the children?

Sir, coming to the present courses of studies obtaining in the State, in certain schools religious instructions are given though it is not in the curriculum or the usual practice to give religious instruction. In all schools knowingly or unknowingly we give them some kind of education on this matter through lessons in text-books treating on religion. That kind of education, as given to our children is a very serious handicap, because it does not give them the idea of grouping together as children, living together as men, and working for the benefit of the whole country.

Sir, two or three days ago I happened to see one of the text-books that is prescribed for the first form. There is a lesson in it, advocating communal organisations of a separatist tendency. It is a book on civics.

President: What is the name of the book?

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: A text-book on Civics.

President: Is it advocating communal organisations? Do you know the book, Mr. Tampi?

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: It was prescribed several years ago. It has not been changed yet. We are considering the changes this year. (*Laughter*)

President: I hope it will be changed immediately. (*Renewed laughter*) I am surprised.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: There is a lesson on "Samudayam" I will read certain portions.

"നിങ്ങൾ ഏതു സമുദായത്തിലെ അംഗമാണെന്നു ചിലർ നിങ്ങളോട് ചോദിക്കാറുണ്ടല്ലോ. ചിലപ്പോൾ ഏതു ജാതിയിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നും ഏതു മതം അനുസരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നും ചോദിച്ചെന്നു വരാം. സമുദായം എന്ന സൂക്ഷ്മയോട്ടുകൂടിയാണു നാം ശിശുപ്രായം മുതൽ വളർന്നുവരുന്നതു." Another portion "നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിലെ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. G. Ravi Varma.]

മതവും ജാതിയുമാണ് ഭിന്നസമുദായങ്ങളെ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. മത പരമായി ചിന്തിച്ചാൽ ഹിന്ദുസമുദായം, ക്രസ്ത്യീയസമുദായം, മഹമ്മദീയ സമുദായം എന്നിങ്ങനെ പ്രധാന മൂന്നു സമുദായങ്ങളാണുള്ളതു. പക്ഷേ ഇവയിൽത്തന്നെ പല പ്രത്യേകവഗ്ഗങ്ങളും ഉപവഗ്ഗങ്ങളും ഉണ്ട്. ഒരാൾക്കു എല്ലാസമുദായവിഭാഗങ്ങളിലും ഉൾപ്പെട്ടു നടക്കാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. മനുഷ്യവഗ്ഗത്തിന്റെ നിലനിൽപിൻ സാമുദായികജീവിതം അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണ്. താനാരുടെ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന സമുദായവിഭാഗത്തോടു് ഓരോരുത്തക്കും വ്യക്തിപരമായി കൂടുതൽ പ്രതിപത്തിയുണ്ടാകുന്നതു് സ്വാഭാവികമാണ്. സ്വജാതിയ്ക്കുവേണ്ടി മരണംപോലും വരിക്കാൻ സന്നദ്ധതയുള്ളവരും ഇല്ലാതില്ല. etc. etc."

It says that there are three or four Samudayams in Travancore on the basis of religion, and within each religion you get so many samudayams, and there are certain questions for the children to be answered at the end of the lesson. I will read them.

Questions 1. സമുദായമെന്നാലെന്തെന്നു വിവരിക്കുക.

2. സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ ഉൽഭവത്തേയും വളർച്ചയേയുംപറ്റി നിങ്ങൾക്കു് എന്തറിയാം?

3. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ പ്രധാന സമുദായങ്ങൾ ഏതെല്ലാം?

etc. etc.

President: I think the country must be indebted to the honourable member. The Director of Public Instruction will see that such books are proscribed immediately.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: Nowadays, Sir, we find almost in all the schools among the students as well as the teachers, a separatist tendency. In other words, organisations of a communal character are coming into existence and are disturbing the peace of the State.

Coming to the nature of the religious instruction to be given, there is no expert to say which kind of instruction should be given. The difficulty arises in regard to the method by which religion should be taught in schools. The ordinary project method or illustrative method or the direct method none of these methods should suffice for teaching religion. The other possible way of teaching religion is by a system of taboos and totems which is condemned in the famous book of Beatrice Webb. Another set of teaching is by illustrative stories. These kinds of stories are not sufficiently instructive and sometimes they give the opposite idea of religion. While I was a student of 4th class in a certain text

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

book there was a story about Lord Sri Krishna, the worst sinner of all our promiscuous Gods, and a student naturally asked the teacher, "How is it that he tolerated so many wives, 16,008?" The teacher had no answer. Another student, I remember perfectly, asked him how many children Lord Sri Krishna had. There was no answer. Then the teacher gave us an idea that these are all myths. This is the sort of religious education that we give our children. I do not know why this Report of the Educational Re-organisation Committee fights shy of this subject.

President: There is no question of fighting shy. They were not able to arrive at any conclusion after the discussion, and so they have said that another committee of people specially qualified to discuss this thorny subject may be appointed.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: Another aspect of this instruction in schools is that it makes the children pessimistic and there seems to be an idea created among them that they are for the other world and not for this world. That is the ordinary trend of the study of religion even to persons of higher ages. I have no hesitation to move this resolution and I have no quarrel with moral education. Moral education should be given in schools, but I do not think that it should be supplemented by religious education.

Let there be separate schools in the State for that purpose and let children be taught by experts on the subject. I do not wish to say anything more about this question and I recommend that the resolution be accepted by the house.

Mr. G. Narayana Iyer: I second this resolution. Religious education is such a difficult subject that nobody can say definitely what should be accepted and what should not be accepted. There is no test to ascertain what shall come under the category of each religion. Then I would submit, this is the first duty of all parents to give some sort of religious education to their children. So long as we find that duty is completely neglected except in certain places, any attempt to instil into the mind of the tender child the views of the proposed teacher may work serious hardship. And then, who is the teacher to be appointed? What is the test to find out that he is the best man to teach the particular religion? Are there prescribed tests or schools or colleges which can certify that they are competent teachers? It is a very serious difficulty. Again, it would work serious hardship to the young children if they are left to the whims and fancies of certain persons. There will be revolutions and controversies among the young people regarding religious beliefs. All the same, some sort of religious instruction may be necessary. I would submit that all the moral precepts which are not disputed and are contained in

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. G. Narayana Iyer.]

the various religions may be collected under the guidance of an authority on the subject and they may be published in a book form, and prescribed for schools and thus the elementary principles can be taught. In no other way can religious instruction be imparted without detriment to the character of the student. With these words I support the resolution.

Mr. M. K. Velu Pillai: I support the resolution. In doing so I draw the attention of the House to page 6 of the Report in which it is stated that a special committee was appointed by the main committee to go into the question of religious teaching ... ...

President: They suggest the appointment.

Mr. M. K. Velu Pillai: Yes.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: That is not right. No sub-committee was appointed to go into the question of religious education. The question was referred to a Miscellaneous Committee which had many other items on its agenda and the recommendations of that committee were accepted by the whole Committee. That is found on pege 116 of the Report.

Mr. M. K. Velu Pillai: Anyhow, at page 6 there is a reference to the effect that a special committee was appointed to go into the question.....

Mr. H. C. Papworth: That is not so. This question was referred to a committee which had several other items.

Mr. M. K. Velu Pillai: Well, along with other questions this was also referred. The Committee, at page 116, comes to this conclusion.

> **"The Committee fully realise that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education, and that the absence of properly organised religious instruction as a part of everyone's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good."**

That was the unanimous opinion of the Committee. With due respect to the framers of the Report I beg to say that it amounts to a criticism of the policy of Government obtaining at the present time. It could be easily seen that most of the Hindu students and a majority of Muslim students and a portion of Christian students studying in Government High Schools receive no religious instruction. Even though the Committee came to this unanimous opinion they thought it fit to appoint a special committee to go into that question. In the face of this observation or finding by the main committee, the appointment of a sub-committee becomes of no use. They will simply have to record the opinion expressed by the big committee. With this remark about the opinion of the committee,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

I may be permitted to proceed to examine the wording of the resolution. I do remember that the members of this House belong to various religious and are ardent followers of their religions. In discussing this question we should not be carried away by sentiment or religious fervour. I would suggest one practical difficulty. My honourable friend here, Mr. Joseph, is a firm believer in his own religion. I, as a Hindu, believe in my own religion. In our social dealings and intercourse there is no difference of opinion between us. We are the best of friends, best of neighbours and best of colleagues. But according to my religion he is a *Mlecha*; and according to the holy Bible, I am a heathen. So, if reliance is to be placed on the religions prevailing in the country among the various communities, it would be impossible to adopt any of them as model for study by children. Would it be correct in the face of these divergences to prescribe any religious book for the purpose of teaching in our High Schools? Besides this, with due reverence to some honourable members.....

President: Order, order. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 3 P. M.

The House adjourned for lunch at 2—0 P. M.

Mr. M. K. Velu Pillai: I wanted to refer to to the difficulties of certain communities in regard to the education of their children in schools where religion is taught. In this connection I may be permitted to recall an instance which took place some years ago. The daughter of a friend of mine was attending a school in which instruction in religion was being given. The girl was of a very tender age. She was pursuaded to wear the special symbol of the religion taught in that particular school. The parents of the girl were able to discover the special symbol only after two years. I do not say that this is the general practice prevailing in all schools where religion is taught, but the incident is one which can never be forgotten. That girl is now occupying a very prominent position in Government service. What I say is incidents like this are likely to occur in institutions where no standard is prescribed for the guidance of the teachers who impart religious instruction. I am not unmindful of the services rendered to the cause of education by the various missonary institutions in the State but since there cannot be any uniform standard, acceptable to all and since we cannot prescribe any rules with regard to the nature of the teaching, the opinion that religious teaching should be allowed in schools, should never be accepted. With these words I support the resolution.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. K. C. Chandy: My honourable friend Mr. Revi Varma's resolution seems to start with a wrong assumption that Government is now giving religious instruction in schools. Otherwise I do not find any justification for the form in which he has framed the resolution. We all know that Government is not sponsoring any form of religious instruction in schools.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: The report says that religious instruction and moral instruction are necessary, and they advocate the appointment of a special committee .. ...

Mr. K. C. Chandy: My point is that as things exist now, religious instruction sponsored by Government, is not given in any of the schools in the State. But if the intention of the mover is that Government should take such steps as not to allow any particular community to make use of the school building for imparting religious instruction, whether it be outside school hours, or not then I have to oppose it.

President: Order, order. I think I might simplify discussion. I presume this resolution was conditioned by what appears in the reorganisation committee report, namely that, in the opinion of the reorganisation committee, religious and moral instruction would be a valuable element in the training of the boy or girl. With that opinion, this Government and indeed all Governments must concur. The question, the narrow question is solely and simply this. As the honourable member Mr. Chandy pointed out, Government are not now imparting any religious instruction or moral instruction *ex facia* or as such in Government schools. The question arises whether with regard to the aided or private institutions, during class hours, such religious instruction should be given. The only problem with which Government is faced and which has to be surmounted is whether within school hours religious or moral instruction should or could be given by any denominational preceptor. Outside school hours, whether in the school building or not, there could be no objection, I fancy, to the imparting of such instruction. The drawbacks and difficulties in the way of imparting instruction during school hours would be that, supposing the management belonged to a different group, either Muslim Shiya or Sunni, Protestant, Syrian Catholic, or London Mission or Lutheran or Vaishnavite, or Smartha or Dwaitha or Jain or Sikh, the question arises who is to receive that instruction during school hours; only the members of that particular community and if so what should happen to the students of the other communities; are they to be on the playground, wasting their time and disturbing those who are undergoing religious instruction. So far as Govern-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ment's problem is concerned, it resolves itself into the solution of the very simple question, is or is not religious instruction to be given by a denominational preceptor during school hours.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I am thankful to the Chair for giving expression to the attitude of Government in this respect. Sir, as a member of the Catholic community I may assure the honourable members of this House and also the Government that we are not assuming an unreasonable attitude. We do not press our claim or right to impart religious instruction during class hours. I make it perfectly clear. But, we cannot, I am sorry to state, bow to any ban imposed on us whereby we are prohibited from making use of our schools for imparting religious instruction. Government's attitude is now clearly expressed and if, in view of the statement by the Chair the honourable mover of this resolution would withdraw it without pressing it, he will do a good service.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: A word of explanation. Sir, I moved this resolution in general principles and not with any particular reference to any particular institution.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: The honourable member states that he was prompted by general considerations. Well, there is the recommendation of the Committee that religious education ought to be blended in the system of general education. Of course, they have avoided this issue ; rather they have suggested a wider committee to go into that question. My honourable friend, Mr. Raja himself stated that religion has a soothening effect in social life. All the educational systems of the world, whether it be of the East or of the West, were founded on religion and in fact, education wa an off-shoot of religion. If my friend Mr. Raja's objection is against religion as such, then I have only to sympathise with him. And he has not stated the reasons which weighed with him to say that there was an absolute need for abolishing religion from every-day life.

President: I think the honourable member merely meant to say that the practical difficulty in the way of affording moral instruction to all the various communities and followers of various religions in the State, is so great that rather than attempt to go through the whole thing, it is much better to leave it to what may be called outside agencies and outside centres.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: Yes, Sir. To separate schools and colleges.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Well, Sir, the position taken by the honourable member is quite different. He says, religious instruction should be conducted in separate schools and centres. So my

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. K. C. Chandy.]

friend is not agreeable even to grant us the right to teach religion in our own schools even outside class hours. That is how he has expressed himself.

Sir, of the 3,709 schools in the State, only 1,040 are departmental schools and 2,669 are aided schools. Practially the whole of this 2,669 schools are owned by adherents of Christianity. These schools are built by Christians, and run by them mainly for the purpose of imparting religious instruction to their children according to Christian principles and in Christian atmosphere. It is true that in carrying out this object, they were asked to co-operate with Government in the matter of teaching the three R's and so the Christian missionaries undertook that part of general education. Nobody regrets that they did so. The results achieved therefrom so far have given to this State a position which we can feel proud of. The standard of pre-eminence in the educational field that Travancore enjoys is due to the contribution made by their schools. To deprive them of their right to teach religion will be unjust.

Another reason why I oppose this resolution is this: It has been admitted by the Education Re-organisation Committee and also by my friend Mr. Raja that religion has a place in society and that it ought to find a place in education. But being a thorny problem the Committee did not care to go into the question in a straight manner. But the fact is there that in our schools we teach our children to become good citizens and to achieve this object, religion is of utmost importance. Take away religion from our educational system and we reduce it to a corpse.

Sir, as I submitted before, all systems of education whether of the East or West, are founded on religion. What was the Gurukula system in India if it was not a harmonious blending of religion with the study of the Three R's. What was the success of the Buddistic educational system as is found in the Thakshasila and Nalanda Universities which outlived the existence of Buddistic religion in India, due to, if it was not religious training?

President: The honourable member will find in Harshacharita relating to the Gurukula system and the accounts of the Nalanda University that they had separate professors of religion teaching the members of that religion and in fact one of the very famous descriptions in Harshacharita speaks the fact that each one of the professors was seated on a separate hill or building and they were disputing and shouting so as not to disturb the shouting of the professors of the other religions. There is a very famous passage on that matter.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I was pointing out that religion was closely associated with the educational system in this country. And in the West too, it was just the same. In the Middle Ages it was the Church of Rome that was the pioneer in propagating education among the masses. It was she who founded the great universities of the world. If we come to modern times, we see that the great educators of the world like Herbat, Pestalozi, Maria Montessori, Dr. Ballard, Adam Smith, Prof. Bagley, Prof. Thorndyke and Dr. Kilpatric and the great leaders of modern thought like H. M. the Queen Empress, Mr. Churchil, Lord Halifax and a host of others are stressing on the importance of religion in the educational policy of a State. Of course in India, because of the diversity of religions and owing to political considerations .....

President: Is the honourable member quite sure of Montessori ?

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Yes, Sir.

In India, because of political considerations and because of the variety of religions practised, it was considered advisable not to include religion as an item in the curriculam. But that does not mean that religion should be banished from our schools altogether and that those organisations and communities which have spent lots of money, time and labour for the purpose of educating their children and who co-operated with Government in the teaching of the Three R's should be prohibited from carrying on their mission of religious education of their children in the schools built and run by them. Certainly, one religion should not be imposed on those of other persuasions.

Mrs. Thressiamma Kora (*Vaikom, Kottayam and Changanacherry* cum *Peermade*) : സർ, വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽ മതബോധനം പാടില്ലാ എന്നുള്ള ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കുന്നു. മതം വേണ്ടാ എന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന എല്ലാവരും ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. എല്ലാ വിഭാഗങ്ങളിലും പെട്ട ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളും ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കും എന്നാണ് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. മറ്റുള്ള വിഭാഗക്കാരും മതക്കാരും ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽതന്നെയും കൂത്തോലിക്കാസഭയിലെ അംഗങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അവരുടെ സുനിശ്ചിതമായ അഭിപ്രായം ഇന്നു പറയാതെയിരിക്കാൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ല.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mrs. Thresiamma Kora]

സർ, വിദ്യാഭ്യാസക്രമത്തിൽ കത്തോലിക്കാസഭയുടെ ആദർശം മനുഷ്യനെ മുഴുവനായി പരിശീലിപ്പിച്ച് അവനെ പരിപൂർണ്ണനാക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതാണ്. ഈ ഉദ്ദേശസാദ്ധ്യത്തിനു വേണ്ടിയാണ് കഴിഞ്ഞ രണ്ടായിരം വർഷക്കാലം കത്തോലിക്കാസഭ ലോകത്തിലെ ഏറ്റവും വലിയ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപ്രവർത്തകയായി വർത്തിച്ചുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്.

കത്തോലിക്കാസഭയ്ക്ക് കനോൺലാ എന്ന ഒരു പ്രത്യേക നിയമാവലിയുണ്ട്. ഈ കനോൺലാ അനുസരിച്ച് കത്തോലിക്കർ ജീവിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഈ നിയമാവലി അനുശാസിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ഞാൻ ജീവിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും. ഇതിനു വിപരീതമായി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതിനു ഏതെല്ലാം ശക്തികൾ നിർബന്ധിച്ചാലും കത്തോലിക്കർ അതിനു കീഴ്പ്പെടുകയില്ല. കനോൺലായിൽ ഫ്രീ എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ നിയമത്തിൽ പറയുന്നതു് ഇങ്ങനെയാണ്. "കത്തോലിക്ക് വിശ്വാസത്തിനും സദാചാരങ്ങൾക്കും വിരുദ്ധമായ യാതൊന്നും പഠിപ്പിക്കാതെയിരിക്കുക്കക്കവണ്ണം മാത്രമല്ലാ, പിന്നെയോ പാഠ്യപദ്ധതിയിൽ മതാത്മകവും സാന്മാർഗ്ഗികവും ആയ പരിശീലനത്തിനു പ്രധാന സ്ഥാനം നൽകുക്കക്കവണ്ണവും ആയിരിക്കണം, കത്തോലിക്കർക്ക് അവരുടെ ശിശുപ്രായം മുതൽക്കെ നൽകപ്പെടുന്ന വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം." കുട്ടികൾക്ക് ക്രൈസ്തീയവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുന്നതിനുള്ള ഉത്തരവാദിത്വമുള്ള മാതാപിതാക്കന്മാർക്കു മാത്രമല്ല അവരുടെ സ്ഥാനം ഏറ്റെടുക്കുന്നവരായ എല്ലാവർക്കും ഉണ്ട്.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്റെ മതാത്മകമായ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തെ കത്തോലിക്കാസഭയുടെ ജീവിതത്തിലെ സകല യുഗങ്ങളിലും ധീരമായും അചഞ്ചലമായും സംരക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഇരുന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്. കത്തോലിക്കരുടെ സംപൂജ്യമായ ഈ അവകാശം നിഷേധിക്കപ്പെട്ടുന്നിടത്തു് അവർ അതിനു വേണ്ടി ധീരമായും വിട്ടുവീഴ്ച കൂടാതെയും പോരാടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. സാക്ഷാത്തായ കത്തോലിക്കാ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം തങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു ജന്മാവകാശമാണെന്നു കത്തോലിക്കർ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. അതു് അവരുടെ മതസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിന്റെ സാരമായ ഒരു ഭാഗമാണ്. നിരീശ്വരനിർമ്മിതപ്രകൃതിയോടുകൂടിയ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്റെ ദോഷഫലങ്ങൾ കുറേക്കാലമായി ലോകം മനസ്സിലാക്കിക്കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ മതത്തിനു സുപ്രധാനമായ ഒരു സ്ഥാനം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നാണ് ഏറ്റവും ഉൽകൃഷ്ടവും ഉന്നതവുമായ ഇന്നത്തെ ചിന്താഗതി. അടുത്തകാലത്തു് ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ചക്രവർത്തിനി തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ട് സാമ്രാജ്യത്തിലെ സ്ത്രീകൾക്കു നൽകി

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

യ ഉൽബോധനത്തിൽ തങ്ങളുടെ കുട്ടംബങ്ങളിൽ മതം പുനഃസ്ഥാപിക്കണമെന്നും മതത്തെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽനിന്നും വേർതിരിച്ചാൽ കുടുംബങ്ങളിൽ മതം പുനഃസ്ഥാപിക്കാൻ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലെന്നും വിവരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അമേരിക്കയിലെ പ്രസിഡണ്ട് ആയിരുന്ന റൂസ്വെൽറ്റ് ഇതിനനുസരണമായ അനേകം പ്രഖ്യാപനങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്:

ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിലെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന മി. വിൻസ്റ്റൺ ചർച്ചിൽ ഫൾട്ടൻ മാർച്ച് 6 ഫ-ാംസ- ചെയ്ത പ്രക്ഷേപിണിപ്രസംഗത്തിൽ മതത്തിനുള്ള സ്ഥാനത്തെപ്പറ്റി വളരെ ശക്തിയായി പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞു "നമ്മുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപദ്ധതിയിൽ ഒരിക്കലും ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാൻ പാടില്ലാത്ത വേറൊരു ഘടകം ഉണ്ട്. മതം ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ജനതയുടെ ജീവിതത്തിനും സ്വഭാവത്തിനും ഉറപ്പു നൽകിയിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു പാറയായിട്ടാണ് നിലകൊണ്ടിട്ടുള്ളത്. ആ പാറമേലാണ് അവർ തങ്ങളുടെ പ്രത്യാശകളെ പടുക്കുകയും ക്ലേശങ്ങളെ ഒടുക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളത്."

നമ്മുടെ വൈസ്രായിയായിരുന്ന ഹാലിഫാക്സ് പ്രഭു പറയുന്നതു് ഇങ്ങനെയാണ്. "മതത്തിന്റെ അവലംബം ഇല്ലാത്തതും മതത്തിൽനിന്നും ബലാൽക്കാരേണ വേർപെടുത്തപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതുമായ ഒരു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്റെ വിപത്തുക്കളായ ഫലങ്ങൾ നാം ഒട്ടുവളരെ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. കൃത്രിമവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു കരിക്കലും നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടുകൂടുവാൻപാടില്ലാത്തതായിരുന്ന ആ സ്ഥാനത്തേയ്ക്ക് ഇന്ന് അജ്ഞതയേ അതി പ്രതിഷ്ഠിക്കുകയാണ് ഇക്കാലത്തെ ഏറ്റവും അടിയന്തിരമായ കർത്തവ്യം."

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽനിന്നും മതത്തെ വേർപെടുത്തണമെന്നോ മുഖ്യമായ പക്ഷം മതത്തെ ഒരു അപ്രധാനവിഷയമായി പിൻതള്ളണമെന്നോ ഉള്ള അഭിപ്രായം നിശ്ചയമായും കാലോചിതമല്ലെന്നും ആധുനികഗതിക്കു വിരുദ്ധമാണെന്നും മേൽ ഉദ്ധരിച്ച പ്രഖ്യാപനങ്ങൾ തെളിയിക്കുന്നു.

കത്തോലിക്കാവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കത്തോലിക്കർക്ക് അത്യന്തം പ്രാധാന്യമുള്ള ഒരു വിഷയം ആകയാൽ സ്വന്തം വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ നടത്തുന്നതിന് അവർക്ക് അവകാശം ഉള്ളതാണ്. അതിനു വിപരീതമായി സ്വീകരിക്കുന്ന ഏതു നിലയും കത്തോലിക്കാമതത്തിന്റെ നേർക്കുള്ള ഒരു കയ്യേറ്റമായി സഭ കരുതുന്നു. അതു കത്തോലിക്കാമതത്തെ രക്ഷിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരു പറ്റിയ മാർഗ്ഗമാണു. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് സഭ സർവ്വശക്തിയോടുംകൂടി ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നതു്.

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Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: Sir, I support the resolution moved by the honourable member Mr. Revi Varma and I am in full agreement with the views expressed by him and Mr. Velu Pillai. The Committee has considered this question of religious instruction and devoted a paragraph to it in the Report. But I cannot but observe that the committee has shelved this question without committing itself to anything definite. At the same time the committee has stated that religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education and that the absence of properly organized religious instruction as a part of everyone's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good. The committee considers that such an important problem may more profitably be dealt with by a body specially constituted for the purpose. I have to deny myself the pleasure of agreeing with the views of the committee regarding this matter. I am of opinion that religious teaching is not essentially an integral part of scholastic or collegiate education and that the absence of any provision regarding it in the curriculam of studies will not prejudicially affect the formation of character or personality. The Reorganisation committee have thrown the whole responsibility upon a prospective committee to be constituted for this purpose. My opinion is that there is no necessity for the formation of a committee regarding this matter. When I say so, let it not be understood that I am advocating atheism. What I say is, there is no necessity to mix religious instruction with secular studies. But of course religion in its widest, broadest and universal sense, must certainly inspire us and animate all our actions. There is no doubt about that. But the point for consideration is whether provision should be made for religious instruction as part of the programme of educational activities. In other words, the question resolves itself into this ; Whether the aided schools and colleges should be allowed the freedom of imparting religious instruction during class hours. As very pertinently observed by the President, the problem would immediately arise as to what ought to be done with regard to students of other denominations who are not attending such classes ? I am asking : Are they expected to roam about or to be specially taught anything during the time ? They certainly will develop mischievous tendencies if they are let free when their companions are undergoing religious instruction. It cannot be seriously argued that religious instruction should be imparted to all students in their respective religions. It will certainly not be possible for aided institutions to provide religious instruction for students of all denominations. If that be the case, there should be as many classes as there are students belonging to different

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denominations. That is certainly beside the question. Of course, I take it that, no aided institution now will compel students of any denomination to attend religious classes conducted for the teaching of a different religion. Formerly in some Christian institutions, attendance in Bible class was compulsory even in the case of students belonging to other denominations and examinations were also conducted. A failure in the examination on scriptures was detrimental for promotion. But I may inform the House that none of the Hindu students ever failed in such examinations. They used to score very high marks, marks, which had a tendency to exaggerate their capacity, marks which did not bear any comparison to the marks they obtain in other subjects. But that problem does not face us now, Now the only question is whether the students belonging to other denominations could be allowed to remain idle when their friends are attending religious classes. That, I think will have a pernicious effect upon the progress of these students. The next question is whether outside class hours it will be advisable to permit these institutions to conduct religious classes.

Even there I have got my own objection. In the first place it will not be possible to provide classes for all students and even granting it to be possible it will create confusion worse confounded. One set of students to be told that they should believe in Jesus Christ, another set to be told that they should believe in Mahomed the Prophet and a 3rd set to be told that they should believe Sri Rama and Sri Krishna and the Vedas and Gita, that certainly will create all sorts of confusion. We cannot even conceive of such a state of affairs. So the question is only whether for those students who belong to a particular denomination classes may be conducted during extra class hours while other students keep aloof. Even then I am of the view that it will have a very unwholesome effect. In the first place such an arrangement will create a tendency on the part of students who attend religious classes to look down upon those students who do not attend the religious classes as being irreligious and there will develop a sort of inferiority complex, in the minds of those who do not attend religious classes. Why should these young boys and girls be allowed to develop such mental attitude from the very beginning of their educational career. Further, no two persons can agree with the interpretation of their religious doctrines. Take for example Hinduism. Different Hindu Philosophers have expounded different theories with regard to the Vedas and the Puranas. Interpretation will vary according to the fertile imagination of the interpreter. So it is better that religious instruction is not imparted either during class hours or

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[Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai]

during extra class hours. Freedom of religion is one of the greatest assets of our country and utmost religious toleration is one of the traditional virtues of this enlightened and progressive State. Mutual respect for each others religion is the cardinal trait in our character. Not a drop of blood was spilt in the name of religion in this land of charity. Therefore I request the honourable members to consider these aspects of the question and not to be anxious to make any special provision with regard to religious instruction in the programme of educational activities.

Sry. P. Thankamma (*Nominated*) : സർ, പ്രാഥമികവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു് കമ്പരംസറിയായി വരുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരു തീരുമാനമുണ്ടായതിൽ ഞാൻ സന്തോഷിക്കുന്നു. പൊതുവേ ഗ്രാൻറുപള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളേയും അവയിലെ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരേയും പറ്റി ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഒരു അവജ്ഞയാണുള്ളതു്. ഗ്രാൻറ്സ്കൂളദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ ശോച്യാവസ്ഥയെ പരിഗണിച്ചു് അതിനു് ഒരു പോംവഴി ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീർത്ത ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനെ അനുമോദിക്കുന്നതിനു് ഈ അവസരം വിനിയോഗിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു് ഇടിഞ്ഞുപൊളിഞ്ഞ പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളോ, പട്ടിണികിടക്കുന്ന അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരോ അക്ഷരാഭ്യാസമില്ലാത്ത കുട്ടികളോ ഇല്ലാതെയാക്കുന്നതിൽ എല്ലാവർക്കും സന്തോഷമാണുള്ളതു്. പ്രാഥമികവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു വേണ്ടി വച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു കാര്യം പറയണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു.

President : We are now at religious education. If the honourable member has nothing to say about religious instruction, she may reserve her remarks when we take up primary education.

Sry. P. Thankamma : സർ, ആദ്യമായി മതപഠനം വേണമോ, വേണ്ടയോ എന്നു നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്നതിനു മുമ്പു് അതെന്താണെന്നും എങ്ങനെയാണു പഠിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതെന്നും ഉള്ളതിനാണു് ഒരു തീരുമാനം ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതെന്നാണു് എൻറെ അഭിപ്രായം. മതം എന്ന വാക്കിനു അഭിപ്രായം എന്നോ വിശ്വാസം എന്നോ പേരു കല്പിക്കാം. ലോകോല്പത്തിക്കു കാരണഭൂതമായ ശക്തിയേയും ലോകത്തേയും അതിൻറെ ഉല്പത്തിയേയും പറ്റി ചിന്തിച്ച ഓരോ മഹാന്മാർ അവരുടെ ചിന്താഫലങ്ങളെ ലോകോപകാരാർത്ഥം വെളിപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതിനെ ആദ്യം അവരുടെ അന്തേവാസികളും അനന്തരം ആ ശിഷ്യരുടെ അനുഗാമികളും വിശ്വസിച്ചു അനുഗമിച്ചുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു കാലാന്തരത്തിൽ അവരുടെ പേരുകളോടു ഘടിപ്പിച്ചും അല്ലാതെയും ഓരോ മതങ്ങളായും സംഘങ്ങളായും

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

പരിണമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണ് ഇന്നത്തെ ചില മതങ്ങൾ. ഭാരതഭൂമിയിൽ ദ്വൈതം, അദ്വൈതം, വിശിഷ്ടാദ്വൈതം, വൈഷ്ണവം, ശൈവം, ശാക്തേയം, സാംഖ്യം ആദിയായിട്ടുള്ള വിവിധവിശ്വാസികളെ പൊതുവേ അറിയപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു മതമാണ് ഹിന്ദുമതമെന്നു പറയപ്പെടുന്നത്. ഹിന്ദു എന്ന പേരു് എങ്ങിനെ ഉണ്ടായി എന്നുള്ളതിനു ചരിത്രകാരന്മാർ പലതും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതിനെ വിമർശിക്കണമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഹിന്ദുമതത്തിന്റെ അടിസ്ഥാനതത്വം എന്തെന്നിക്കു മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു് നമ്മുടെ മാംസചക്ഷുസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് കാണാനും ജ്ഞാനേന്ദ്രിയാദികൊണ്ടു് ഗ്രഹിക്കാനും സാധിക്കുന്നവയ്ക്കും അവയിൽ അനുഭൂതമാകുന്ന സർവ്വത്തിനും കാരണഭൂതമായി സർവ്വസാക്ഷിയായി സർവാന്തര്യാമിയായി ഒന്നുമാത്രമേ ഉള്ളൂ എന്നാണ്. "ഏകം സദ് വിപ്രാ ബഹുധാ വദന്തി" എന്നു ഹിന്ദുക്കൾ ഗ്രഹിച്ചിരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കും അവരുടെയിടയിൽത്തന്നെ ഉള്ള പല പിരിവുകളും ഒന്നായി ഗണിച്ചുപോരുന്നതും, മറ്റു മതപ്രചരണങ്ങളിൽ അവർ അസഹിഷ്ണുക്കളല്ലാതിരുന്നതും. എന്നാൽ സാഹോദര്യം, സൗഹാർദ്ദം, സഹകരണം, സഹിഷ്ണുത മുതലായി, സഹജീവികളെ ഏകോപിച്ചു്, ലോകസമാധാനത്തിനുപകരിക്കേണ്ടവിധത്തിൽ പ്രവർത്തിക്കേണ്ട മതങ്ങളിലെ മൂലതത്വങ്ങളിലോ ആ മതങ്ങൾക്കു കാരണഭൂതരായ ആചാര്യന്മാരിലോ നമുക്ക് അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസത്തിനവകാശം കാണുന്നില്ല. ക്രിസ്തുദേവന്റെ പുണ്യകല്പനകളേയോ ശ്രീകൃഷ്ണഭഗവാന്റെ ഗീതോപദേശത്തേയോ ബുദ്ധന്റെ അഹിംസാസിദ്ധാന്തത്തേയോ, മഹമ്മദുനബിയുടെ ഹിന്ദുസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളോടു വളരെയോജിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നാണു് ഇപ്പോൾ കാണുന്നതു്. ഇവ-കിൻഹോവല്ലഹോ അക്ബർ" ഒന്നല്ലാതെ രണ്ടില്ല; ഉള്ളതു് ഒന്നുമാത്രമാണ് എന്ന അദ്വൈതസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളേയോ അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള മതങ്ങൾ തമ്മിലുള്ള ഭിന്നാഭിപ്രായത്തിനും ഭിന്നസംഘടനയ്ക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യവാദങ്ങൾക്കും കാരണം, മനുഷ്യർ അവരെ കൊണ്ടുചേർത്തിട്ടുള്ള ഏകതത്ത്വത്തിനെ വിഗണിച്ചു് സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യകതല്പരരായി മൂലതത്വത്തിൽ ദൈവത്തിൽനിന്നും സഹോദരങ്ങളെ വിഭിന്നങ്ങളായി ഗണിച്ചു അകന്നുപോകുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണെന്നാണ് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് യഥാർത്ഥമായ മതപഠനം അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്, മൂലതത്വത്തെ അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കി ജീവിക്കാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നവർക്കു പരസ്പരാശ്രയത്വം പരസ്പരാവലംബികളും പരസ്പരം സഹായികളുമാകാനല്ലാതെ ഗത്യന്തരമില്ല. അതിനാൽ ഭാവിതലമുറകൾക്കു് നൽകുന്ന മതാദ്ധ്യയനം അവരെ യഥാർത്ഥ മനുഷ്യരായും ഉത്തമപൗരരായും തീർക്കുന്നതിനുപയുക്തമാകത്തക്കവിധത്തിലുള്ള സാന്മാർഗ്ഗികവും തത്വപ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Sry. P. Thankamma]

രവുമായ പ്രായോഗികസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങൾമൂലം അതുകണമെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. അതിൽ യാതൊരു മതസ്ഥർക്കും അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസത്തിനവകാശമില്ല. ഒരു സത്യവാനായ സഹകരണക്കാരനോ, ഒരു പിതൃവാത്സല്യനായ പുത്രനോ, അനുസരണയുള്ള ശിഷ്യനോ, ഒരു ഏകഭാര്യാവ്രതക്കാരനായ ഭർത്താവോ, പതിവ്രതയായ ഭാര്യയോ മദ്യപാനാദിദുർഗ്ഗുണങ്ങളെ ശീലിക്കാത്ത വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളോ ഇണ്ടാകുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് അതുകൊണ്ടും ഒരു ദോഷവും വരാനില്ല. സാന്മാർഗ്ഗിക അടിസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ ബാല്യത്തിലുറപ്പിച്ചുപോന്നാൽ ഉപരിമതപഠനങ്ങൾ അവർ ആരാഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളും. അതിലേയ്ക്കുള്ള നമ്മുടെ ഭണ്ഡാഗാരങ്ങൾ വിപുലങ്ങളുമാണ്. എവർക്കും ഇതു പ്രവേശനവുമുണ്ട്. ഹിന്ദുശാസ്ത്രപാരംഗതന്മാരായ ഋഷിവര്യന്മാരുടെ ഗുരുകുലങ്ങളിൽ ദിനരാത്രം അവരുടെ മേൽനോട്ടത്തിൽ ബാല്യകാലം മുതൽ ബ്രഹ്മചാരികളായി പ്രായാനുസരണവും വാസനാനുസരണവും അഭ്യസനം നടത്തി, അരോഗദൃഢഗാത്രരും ജീവിതായോധനത്തിൽ സന്നദ്ധരുമായ ഉത്തമമനുഷ്യരെ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചുരുന്ന വൈദികകാലങ്ങൾ കഴിഞ്ഞു, ആധുനികവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പിലായശേഷം ഹിന്ദുക്കൾ അവരുടെ കുട്ടികൾക്ക് മതസംബന്ധമായി ശരിയായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകാൻ ശ്രദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്നു സംശയമാണ്. മതാദ്ധ്യയനം വേണമെന്നുദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന ഹിന്ദുസ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾ അവരുടെ കുട്ടികളെ ഏതുവിധത്തിലാണ് ഈ ഗഹനമായ വിഷയത്തെ പഠിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതെന്നു വിഷമിക്കുന്നു. എന്തെന്നാൽ അതിനനുസരിച്ച് പുസ്തകങ്ങളില്ല. വേദാദ്ധ്യയനം എല്ലാവർക്കും അനുവദനീയമല്ലാതെയും അനുവദിച്ചിരുന്ന വ ശ്രുതിമൂലവും അതായിരുന്നതിനാൽ അഭ്യസനരീതി എങ്ങനെയാണ്, എന്നറിവില്ലാതെയുമായി. ഈ ന്യൂനത പരിഹരിക്കപ്പെട്ടണമെന്നാണെന്റെ അഭ്യർത്ഥന. ഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കവരുടെ ഈ വിഷമമേറിയ വിഷയം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു അത്ര എളുപ്പമല്ല. എന്നാൽ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ അവരുടെ കുട്ടികളെ മതം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിൽ നാം തടസ്ഥക്കാരല്ല. അതു സ്കൂളുകളിലോ സ്കൂൾ ടൈമിലോ ആകരുതെന്നാണ്. പ്രായോഗികമായ രീതിയിൽ ഏതു മതസ്ഥനും അഭിലഷണീയമായ മതപഠനം എല്ലാ സ്കൂളുകളിലും നടപ്പാക്കുന്നതിലേയ്ക്കുതകുന്ന പാഠ്യപുസ്തകങ്ങൾ രചിച്ചു നിർബന്ധമായി പഠിപ്പിക്കുകതന്നെ വേണം. മനുഷ്യനെ സാന്മാർഗ്ഗികപഥത്തിൽ ചരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു പ്രേരകമാകാൻ നിർഗ്ഗുണമായ പരാശക്തിക്കു നാമരൂപാദികളും നിഗ്രഹാനുഗ്രഹശക്തിയും കല്പിച്ചു മനുഷ്യനെ അന്ധവിശ്വാസിയും സൽകർമ്മങ്ങളുടെ ഫലങ്ങൾക്ക് ഉത്തരവാ

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മിതപമില്ലാത്തവനും ആക്കിത്തീർക്കുന്ന കെട്ടുകഥകളെക്കൊണ്ടൊന്നും ആധുനികലോകത്തെ വിശ്വസിപ്പിക്കാവുന്നതല്ല. നമുക്ക് ജീവൻ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ജീവിതം എന്നറിയപ്പെടുന്ന വിലയേറിയ വസ്തു കരസ്ഥമായി അതിനെ കഴിയുന്നതും ഉത്തമമായ മാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ ഉപയോഗിക്കേണ്ടതു നമ്മുടെ കടമയും ചുമതലയുമാണ്. അതിന് അതെങ്ങിനെ കിട്ടിയെന്നോ എന്തിനു കിട്ടിയെന്നോ ഭാവിയിൽ എന്തായിത്തീരുന്നുവെന്നോ ഉള്ള ഉർഗ്രാഹ്യവും അപരിഹാര്യവുമായ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്ക് ഒരു തീരുമാനം അറിയേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. മൂലതത്വങ്ങളെ അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ള പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾക്ക് പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കാതെതന്നെ ഒരു മനുഷ്യന് ഒരുത്തമ പൗരനും ഒരുത്തമ പിതാവും ഒരുത്തമ ഭർത്താവും ഒരുത്തമ സോദരനും ഒരു ഉത്തമ സമുദായജീവിയും ആകാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതാണ്. പ്രത്യക്ഷമായ ചില നടപടിനിയമങ്ങളെ അനുഗമിച്ചാൽ പ്രയോജനകരവും ഉൽകൃഷ്ടവുമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം നയിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. സത്യം, കൃത്യനിഷ്ഠ, പരിശുദ്ധജീവിതം, ന്യായം, ധൈര്യം, പരിശ്രമശീലം, സമഭാവന, സാഹോദര്യം, ആത്മനിയന്ത്രണം മുതലായവ എല്ലാ മതങ്ങളുടേയും അടിസ്ഥാനങ്ങളാണ്. ഇതിൽ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസത്തിനവകാശമില്ല. അവയെസംബന്ധിച്ച് പൊതുവായ ഒരു നടപടി മതാധികാരികളും ഗവണ്മെൻറും ആയി ആലോചിച്ച തീരുമാനിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. ഗവണ്മെൻറിന് ഇതിൽ സുനിശ്ചിതമായ ഒരു ചുമതലയുണ്ട്. മനുഷ്യന്റെ ബുദ്ധിപരമായ വശങ്ങളെമാത്രം ട്രെയിൻചെയ്യിച്ചാൽ പോരാ. ശരിയായവിധത്തിലുള്ള പൗരന്മാരെ സമ്പാദിക്കാൻ സാന്മാർഗ്ഗികവും വികാരപരവും സംസ്കാരപരവുമായ വശങ്ങളിലും തുല്യമായ ശ്രദ്ധ പതിയേണ്ട കാലം അതിക്രമിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. സംസ്ഥാനത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ നന്മയെ ലാക്കാക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനിതിൽ ഉദാസീനമായിരിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല. കുശലതയോടും ശക്തിയോടുംകൂടി ഇതിലേയ്ക്ക് ഒരു പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം.

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : സർ, ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കുന്നു. മനുഷ്യക്ക് സ്വഭാവശുദ്ധീകരണത്തിനും, സമാധാനജീവിതത്തിനും മതം, ഏറ്റവും ആവശ്യമാണ്. ഈ സഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ സമർപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ റിഫോംസ് കമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിലും ഈ സംഗതി സമ്മതിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ മതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഏറ്റവും ആവശ്യമാണെന്നും എന്നാൽ അതു എങ്ങനെ

[Mr. Paul A. Thaliath.]

നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ളതിനെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിച്ചു തീരുമാനംചെയ്യുന്നതിലേക്ക് വിദഗ്ദ്ധന്മാർ അടങ്ങിയ പ്രത്യേക ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റിയെ നിയമിക്കേണ്ടതു ആവശ്യമാണെന്നും പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്ന അവരുടെ ആ നിർദ്ദേശത്തെ അവഗണിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ പ്രമേയം ഇപ്പോൾ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. കമ്മിറ്റിക്കാരുടെ നിർദ്ദേശപ്രകാരം പ്രത്യേകം ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റി രൂപീകരിച്ചു ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഒന്നുകൂടി ചർച്ചചെയ്തു ഒരു തീരുമാനം വരുത്തുന്നതിനാണ് ആദ്യമായി ഗവണ്മെൻറു ശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നത്.

President: I wish to make one matter clear. I have been greatly exercised in mind over this question and I have taken this occasion to consult members of the various communities. Not unnaturally, Professors of the various religions take the line that unless some doctrinal points of their religion are also taught, mere ethical instruction will not be useful for the members of a religion. And it is perfectly correct, and in fact, I will be surprised if they take any other line. Because to the Muslim, the revelation given to a prophet or the prophet is the fundamental thing, his morality hinges on it. Similarly, to the Christian, the revelations of the Gospel are the background of the whole ethical, moral and religious scripture. Similarly, it is very difficulty to conceive of any abstract teaching of the Hindu Religion which would not be common place unless it is based upon some points of the Hindu life, of the life of the Hindu Saints, and Hindu incarnations. Now, the difficulty is—so far as I could see—I should be glad if any guidance is given by this honourable House on that matter—they are not willing that there should be a general discussion, an ethical discussion, without the basis of that particular religion on which their morality is founded.

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath: ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ റീഫാംസ് കമ്മിറ്റിക്കാർ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ, ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു വിദഗ്ദ്ധകമ്മിറ്റി ഒന്നുകൂടി പര്യാലോചിക്കണമെന്നാണ്. ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്ന കത്തോലിക്കാസമുദായത്തിനു, ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ സ്ഥിരമായ ഒരു അഭിപ്രായമാണുള്ളതു്. അതു ഞാൻ വ്യക്തമാക്കികൊള്ളട്ടെ, കത്തോലിക്കാസമുദായത്തിനു എല്ലാ ക്ലാസുകളിലും ഒന്നാംക്ലാസുമുതൽ കാളേജ് ക്ലാസുവരെ അവരുടെ മതംപഠിപ്പിക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതു് നിർബന്ധം തന്നെയാണ്. അതിനുവേണ്ടിയാണ് അവർ ഇത്രവളരെ പണവും ചെലവുചെയ്തു, ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും സഹിച്ചു, ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളും കാളേജുകളും പ്രൈമറിസ്കൂളുകളും മറ്റും സ്ഥാപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു്.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan : കത്തോലിക്കാസമുദായം ഇപ്പോൾ അതിലേക്ക് പ്രത്യേകം സൺഡേ സ്കൂൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടല്ലോ. അവിടെ വച്ചു മതം പഠിപ്പിച്ചാൽ പോരേ?

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : ഒരു ദിവസം മാത്രം മതപഠനം നടത്തിയാൽ പോരാ എന്നാണ് എന്റെ സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. എല്ലാ ദിവസങ്ങളിലും മതപഠനം നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടിയാണ് അവർ സ്കൂളുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. ഈ പ്രമേയം സ്വീകരിച്ചാൽ ഒരു സ്കൂളിലും ഒരുസമയത്തും മതാദ്ധ്യയനം നടത്തുവാൻ ഒക്കുകയില്ല. എന്റെ സമുദായം പറയുന്നത്, ക്ലാസുസമയത്തു മതാദ്ധ്യയനം നടത്താൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ലാത്തപക്ഷം, ക്ലാസ്സ് കഴിഞ്ഞാലെങ്കിലും അതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നാണ്. ഈ പ്രമേയം പാസ്സാക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു സ്കൂളുകളിൽ വച്ചു ഒരു സമയത്തും മതാദ്ധ്യയനം നടത്താൻ അനുവദിക്കുന്നില്ല എന്നാണ് വന്നുകൂടുന്നത്. അതു മതസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിൽ ഒരു കൈകടത്തലായി എന്റെ സമുദായം വീക്ഷിക്കതന്നെചെയ്യും.

President : I thought I had made the position of the Government clear. The Government do not propose to depart from their present practice which is to regulate only the teaching of religion during school hours in school buildings. They have not till now taken any objection to the teaching of religion in school buildings outside school hours. They have undoubtedly also stated that school buildings should not be used as chapels or churches. That goes without saying. And it is not the intention of the Government to depart from that policy henceforward.

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : ആ പോളിസിയിൽനിന്നും ഗവണ്മെൻറ് യാതൊരു തരത്തിലും വ്യതിചലിക്കരുതെന്നാണ് എനിക്ക് പ്രധാനമായി ഗവണ്മെൻറിനോട് അപേക്ഷിക്കുവാനുള്ളത്.

Mr. N. Narayana Kurup : Sir, one word about voting on this question. I think it may be put to vote.

President : You want a closure.

Mr. N. Narayana Kurup : Yes, before that I want to make a few remarks.

President : No, No.

As it is, the resolution goes to say that no religious teaching should be made even outside the school hours.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma : Sir, I will make the position clear. My resolution is worded carefully. No such motive can be attributed to this resolution.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President : For the purpose of elucidation would you have any objection to say that it should not be given in schools during school hours.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma : It means school hours.

President : Do you accept that.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma : Yes, I mean that.

The question of closure was put to vote and declared carried.

The resolution that "this Council recommends to the Government that no sort of religious instruction should be given in school except schools started and maintained for that purpose only and to leave that side of education entirely to the parents of the children" was put to vote and declared carried.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai : Sir,

President : Order, order. I would request the honourable members to sort out those resolutions on which they wish to concentrate. Otherwise, if persons are to speak on each one of these 26 resolutions we shall not get really any further. As I stated, I am very much particular that the discussion on what might be called an important question should be as full as possible. That is my opinion. Of course, I cannot dictate on this matter to the honourable members. In the mean time, honourable members who wish to speak on any resolution can give notice.

Mr K. A. Raman Pillai : Sir, I move the following resolution :

> **"This Council recommends to Government that Government be pleased to take the necessary steps to take up the whole control and management of Primary Education in the State as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education."**

Well, this House, I am sure is aware of the fact that a similar resolution was passed by the Assembly and all the aspects of the question have been discussed there and I take it—I am speaking subject to correction—the resolution was unanimously, or at any rate with an overwhelming majority, passed by the Sister House. It has been made already clear in the Report that the State should take upon itself the responsibility of compulsory Primary education throughout the entire State. Now primary education is imparted through the medium of departmental, aided and unaided schools. The management of the aided and unaided schools is the subject of very adverse comments at the hands of those who know the inner secrets of the working of these institutions. In the scramble for grant paid by Government, the poor teacher is more often the victims of the subtle manager. Now, as far as the whole field of education is concerned, there will be a new orientation when

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the proposals are implemented. The committee is of opinion that the training given to boys and girls must be related to the economic life and must foster the wage-earning capacity of the students. On page 24 of the Report it is stated that the five-years compulsory course must lead to direct employment as manual workers, lower-grade technical training and entry into middle-schools. With regard to teachers' salary the recommendation is that in the primary schools, whether Departmental or otherwise the teachers should be given a salary of Rs. 20-1-25 while the headmasters' salary should be Rs. 30-2-40. It is also stated that sufficient attention should be bestowed upon suitable buildings and equipment. The stress upon buildings can not be over emphasised so that the school buildings should not hereafter develop murderous instincts towards the innocent ones and the Committee is also of the opinion that inefficient and ill-managed schools should be eradicated. In the case of deserving schools which conform to the conditions laid down, the report says that a grant of 75 per cent. of the pay of the teachers will be given by the Government. Now, if the rules are strictly enforced, eradication I think will be the order of the day. If the Government is prepared to pay 75 per cent. of the teachers salary it is only reasonable and legitimate to request the Government to take up the full control and management of primary education and incur the total expenditure in that behalf. There are at present 883 departmental primary schools and 2,169 private primary schools imparting instruction to 3,68,331 pupils. For the successful introduction of compulsory education, it is necessary that primary education should be taken completely under the control of Government.

Then, the question of free supply of books and noon-meals will arise with the introduction of compulsory education. It might be stated that 99 per cent. of the students to be brought under the scheme of compulsory education will be poor students and they will have to be provided with noon-meals and free books and cloth. Then, there is the problem of accommodation for craft work, and provision for play grounds and gardens. These problems can be successfully tackled only if the Government takes up the whole management and control of all these primary schools. The national background of the whole scheme as envisaged in the report would certainly demand the taking up of such a step preliminary to the introduction of compulsory education. Nobody ever denies that the private agencies have contributed substantially towards the cause of education and the spread of literacy in the State. I am certainly for the perpetuation of the system of private management in all the stages of education, except in the primary stage.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai.]

What I say is that the problems that are now set forth at the primary stage are so manifold that a successful solution of the problems can be had only if the Government take up the full responsibility in that behalf. I therefore request this House to kindly accept this resolution so that the problem of compulsory primary education may be solved without any difficulty whatsoever to enable every man and woman in our country to become literate.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker: I support the motion. My arguments are threefold. Firstly, when a national system of education is introduced, all students must have equal facilities. If some schools are allowed to be managed by private agencies and if the State runs other schools, the atmosphere in both schools need not be the same. A Catholic institution may have its own atmosphere and a Government school may have quite a different atmosphere. Now in order to give equal facilities to all children, it is highly essential that all the schools must be run by one and the same agency and it can only be possible by the State itself.

Secondly this is a very big scheme, the introduction of primary education and the best agency for that would be the State because it involves heavy expenditure.

Thirdly, all teachers employed in the various schools must have equal facilities. The chances of teachers in private schools and the chances of those in Government schools are now different. If all schools are absorbed by Government they will have equal chances.

For all these reasons, I think it would be most advisable to have a national system of education throughout the State and for that, all schools must be taken over by the State, itself.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Sir, 43 educational experts in the State submitted a unanimous report on the Education Reorganisation question. One of the recommendations contained in that report is that the two main branches of educational managements, Government and the private, should continue and that every help and encouragement should be given to the private managements to improve their schools. My honourable friend Mr. Raman Pillai's resolution aims at throwing into the waste-paper basket this unanimous recommendation of such a body.

President: I may say this at once, so that there may be no confusion on that mater. If this House is in favour of accepting the Committee's resolution on the subject, and if Government are asked to pay 75 per cent. of the salary of the teacher, then the Government must say at once that their policy would be that the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

selection of the teacher, the tenure of the teacher and the appointment of the teacher should be under the control of Government. In other words the Government will not be able to pay 75 per cent. of the salary of a teacher to a management which is entitled to appoint a teacher. Cases may happen when a teacher does not get on well with the management and gets suspended the next day—I am dealing with actual cases which are pending decision before me. The management then appoints somebody else but finding that it is impossible to get on with him, appoints the first man again and then gets into trouble with him and tries to suspend him; then they go to Government and say that the teacher is not amenable and ask the Goverment whether they could utilise their special powers. That cannot be done by Government.

Secondly; between the two groups, religious or social, there are difficulties in localities in which they say that one teacher is a favourite of 'X.' Therefore that teacher may be continuing and a large number of people would consequently send petitions to the Director and then to Government to get rid of that teacher and to appoint the next man who is best fitted in point of moral and educational integrity. That kind of dispute is now going on.

Thirdly, we receive a large number of complaints that salaries are not distributed to the teachers. I may say that a fairly big deputation of about 100 people who came to see me—I do not know where they are now—but I saw them round the corridors at the time of the Assembly session (laughter)—said they would prefer to become Government servants and get pensions, provident fund, etc., instead of getting 75 per cent of their salaries. This matter will have to be considered by the honourable House and it is entirely for the honourable House to decide on it.

The purpose of the Government is to take all of them directly into Government service and give them all the facilities such as pension, provident fund, etc., which they would be entitled to. If teachers prefer the benefits provided by the management and also prefer to be paid by the management—it was not the attitude of the teachers who waited on deputation—then I am perfectly prepared to consider the proposals of the Committee.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I do not think that my honourable friend Mr. Raman Pillai was actuated by any envy or hatred towards private school managements. But I wonder if he has given the question his serious thought.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. K. C. Chandy.]

One of the points which I would like to bring to the notice of this honourable House is the argument advanced by Mr. Raman Pillai that it is a necessary measure to the introduction of the scheme of compulsory primary education in the State. In countries where the scheme of primary education is enforced, there do exist private and aided schools. In America, the catholics contribute to the educational cess and yet they maintain their own denominational schools. In China and in England there are thousands of christian schools, and all of them conform to the State Regulations in the teaching of the three R's.

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: Are those schools in America aided ?

Mr. K. C. Chandy: In America they are given certain grants.

Therefore the argument that it is a necessary measure to the introduction of compulsory primary education is not tenable.

Secondly, all the private schools in the State are already under State control. In these days, the managers of the private schools have been left with practically no authority. The authority has actually passed on to the head of the department and they are now simply at the mercy of the department and have to look up to them with hope or with fear according to the power in whose hands their welfare rests.

President: Honourable members need not labour the point about any inhibition or prohibition against private agencies, religious or social, running primary schools. I do not think any such right is taken away or sought to be taken away at all. That is, if Catholics Protestants or Hindus or Muslims want to run a primary school themselves, there is nothing to prevent their doing so provided the standard of instruction is such as will conform to the general educational standard laid down for the State as a whole. But the question arises mainly in this way. If there is compulsory primary education in the State, it is not the privilege of the State but only the duty of the State. The State would have to say that every body will be educated, If other agencies take up the work, they might do so, but somehow or other, everybody must be educated. Government cannot subsidise or pay any grant. That is the only point.

Should the Government pay any grants or subsidies to institutions which are not run by Government on these lines. In other words, should the Government pay 75 per cent or 100 per cent ? In fact the substratum of the Committee's recommendation is that the private institutions may exist and that 75 per cent. of the pay of the teachers may be paid by Government

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

There is nothing to prevent any denominations from running primary schools of their own provided they do not want to get grant from Government and pay their own teachers. The Government will then insist that the payment will be on the same rate as obtains in the whole of the State. That is absolutely clear, because Government are absolutely determined that the present system of payment to the primary schools cannot continue in view to the safety—educational and political safety—of the country. The teachers are practically on starvation wages and they are a source of legitimate discontent. That has to be avoided so that the Government will insist on payment by every primary school of a certain minimum amount. If that minimum salary is paid by the private agency, they can run the school and there can be nothing against it.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I take it that the attitude of Government will be not to give any aid to the grant-in-aid institutions in future.

President: Only in primary education. Unless the private schools conform to the standard recommended by Government, they will have to be taken over by Government. In other words primary education will be taken over entirely by the State and it will be conducted by the State which means that they will have to levy an education cess sooner or later. The education cess and the existing revenue will be pooled together and primary education will be made compulsory throughout the State on a ten year programme. At that stage or even before that, Government will have to make up their minds whether, they can in addition subsidise primary education and if so to what extent. The Committee has recommended 75 per cent. but in the case of the above proportion, we cannot do that.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: The third reason why I oppose the resolution is that when viewed from the financial point also, it is not a sound proposition to take over the management of primary schools in the State. From the Administration Report of 1119 I find that there are 2,707 primary schools in the state of which only 734 are State-owned and the remaining 1,973 are run by private agencies.

President: Those are primary and Secondary schools too. Are they not?

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: The Government run 734 primary schools, and the primary schools run by private agencies total 2,023.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. K. C. Chandy: The number of students attending these departmental primary schools is about 1,56,000 and the number attending aided primary schools is about 3,44,000. Let us now consider the expenditure that is now incurred by Government under these two heads.

President: It is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 60 lakhs.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: In the case of Departmental schools the Government spent Rs. 12,58,652 i. e., they are meeting an average cost of Rs. 8 per child. The total expenditure on grant-in-aid primary schools is Rs. 10 44,378. That is to say, the grant given to the grant-in-aid schools for educating a child in the primary section is only Rs 3.

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: What is the rate of the grant paid now?

Mr. K. C. Chandy: It is somewhere about 3/8 of a rupee. Sir, in the neighbouring State of Cochin the grant is annas 14 for every rupee of expenditure incurred by the aided school, but here it is only 3/8 of a rupee. If primary education is to be taken over by Government it would mean that Government will have to spend immediately an additional sum of Rs. 5 per year on these 3,44,000 students now attending aided primary schools.

Mr. G. Ravi Varma: What is the teachers' pay?

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I will come to that. Again, it is mentioned in the Administration Report that only 68·7 per cent. of the children of school-going age are attending primary schools now. Therefore, when cent per cent of the children of school-going age are also sought to be educated, Government will have to incur a very heavy expenditure every year.

President: There is no doubt about that. If compulsory primary education is to be started by Government throughout the State it will be the largest single item in the budget. The only question is whether Government should take it up.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: And this heavy expenditure will be outside the capital outlay that will be needed for assuming the existing primary schools. Of course, if I am owning a school and if Government are taking it over, in equity I am to be paid the compensation for it.

President: Why should we take it at all? We won't take over any school. We will start schools.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Thus, the capital outlay that will have to be incurred by Government will also be enormous. Besides, in assuming control of schools, there are certain inconveniences to be experienced. It is a known fact that all the primary schools run by Christians are attached to a church or religious institution.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President: Order, order. I think that about 60 to 70 per-cent of the primary schools were constructed by the people of the locality out of funds subscribed by them. That is the information that I have now received. In that case, they are all public trusts and Government can take them over immediately. In the case of those which are purely private institutions, Government are not obliged to acquire them, and the private institutions may rest assured that Government will not, in all probability, acquire buildings of even a single private school. 60 or 70 per cent of the schools that have already been built by local effort will be taken over by Government and they will build other schools, if necessary for spreading primary education throughout the State.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: There is also another aspect to be considered. Almost all primary schools in the State are owned by Christians. They are generally attached to or built in or around the church itself. It will be wounding the sentiments of a large section of the subjects of H. H. the Maharaja.

President: Order, order. I say we would not take over a single institution of that kind. Neither will we purchase them nor will those buildings be interfered with. No primary school will be taken over unless the owners themselves hand it over. It is a definite matter of policy in the pursuit of this ideal of compulsory primary education. Government will not acquire or purchase any buildings unless the managements themselves want to hand them over to Government. Government will not acquire or purcharse even a single building adjacent to a church or adjacent to a temple. There are a certain number of schools next to temples, and there are invariably some schools next to mosques. None of these school buildings will be acquired by Government.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Even if the proprietory right in the school-building is not acquired by Government, the management may be taken over by Government.....

President: There is nothing to prevent the Government from starting a primary school withing three yards of another primary school provided it is needed for compulsory primary education. We shall not take over the management of even a single school.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: The resolution recommends to Government.....

President: That is why it is being discussed now.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: It is my resolution.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I was under the impression that it was a recommendation to Government that Government should take over the management of primary education in the State; *i. e.* all the private schools in the State.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: The resolution is that Government should take over primary education.

President: He was probably referring to Mr. Narayana Panicker's motion, *viz.*,

> "This Council recommends to Government that they may take immediate steps to absorb all private managed Primary Schools under Government management and to abolish the system of withdrawing recognition if mismanagement or other irregularities are brought to their notice."

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: He has not moved it.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Mr. Raman Pillai's resolution contains the words "control and management of education," and in considering that resolution. I am perfectly within bounds if I go into the question of the difficulties that will be experienced by the proprietors of the existing private schools.

Sir, the only ground put forward by the mover of the resolution is that teachers in the aided primary schools are not getting salary on a par with the teachers in the departmental schools. Well, Sir, if the honourable member thinks that there is really a black-market in the teachers' salary as well, I can just tell him that Government have provided adequate safeguards. I wish to draw the attention of the honourable members to Chapter I, page I of the Administration Report of the Education Department for 1119. "The grants-in-aid to the teachers (of aided primary schools) are arranged to be disbursed by means of cheques to ensure direct payment to teachers.'

So, Government have already made arrangements to see that the teachers do get the full grant-in-aid that is given to them. Therefore that argument two cannot stand. Then I may also, in this connection, bring to the notice of this honourable house what the attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy in this matter is,—I mean as regards the payment of the teacher's salary. At page 18 of a Joint Pasteral.....

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: On a point of order Sir. There are very many resolutions to be discussed and we have got only about two hours.

President: This is practically the fundamental thing in connection with education because, after all, I do not think there is large difference of opinion on many other matters in the Report. The main thing and the fundamental basis of the whole Report is the introduction of compulsory primary education and the second point of nearly equal importance is the deflection of the High School in the direction of a poly-technic, in regard to which I find no resolution.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I am thankful to the Chair for having told the honourable member that this is a very important subject...

President: I shall not stop discussion on this.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: In a Joint Pastoral Letter, issued by all the Catholic bishops and Archbishops of Malabar, a copy of which I suppose is with the Government, they say "At the same time it is the duty of the managers to see that the teachers are properly rewarded for their labour and to look to their material welfare to a reasonable extent, so that the latter may perform their duties unhampered by wants or privations." Sir, that is the direction of the Catholic hierarchy, one which is to be obeyed by Catholic managers. Therefore the chance of the Catholic managers absorbing a portion of the grant to the teachers cannot also stand.

Fourthly, and this is the most important point on which I have to oppose this resolution, it is a measure which will interfere with the religious liberty of one-third of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja.

President: How?

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I know fully well, that it is not possible to explain within the limited time at my disposal, the Catholic view-point of education. But I wish that this honourable house will realise that in education, the Christians, and we, the Catholic Christians in particular, have a definite aim. It is not a compulsory conversion of those who do not belong to our fold. Our attempt is just to bring up our children in an atmosphere of Catholic life and to educate them in the principles of the Catholic religion so that they may be enabled to become good children of God. Of course, all these matters have been adverted to at great length in the joint pastoral letter to which I just draw the attention of Government. I do not propose to re-iterate them here. I would only say that the Catholic parent is bound by his religion to give a Catholic education to his child. The right to educate a child is a natural right of the parent and no State should interfere with that right.

President: We do not propose to do so. As I have made it perfectly clear, it is quite open to the Catholics or the Hindus or the Mussalmans to establish Catholic schools or Hindu Schools or Muslim schools primary, secondary or collegiate, in any locality and give them any instruction, appoint their own teachers, have their own curriculam, always provided that the standards set for the State as a whole are not departed from. Subject to that, the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[President.]

only question now is whether of primary compulsory education started under this scheme should be conducted by Government throughout the State. That will be without interfering with the separate rights of the various persons at their own costs and their own way to run their own institutions.

Mr. K. C. Chandy I was stating Sir, that it is the right of the parent to educate his child. He has to decide to what school he should send his child; he has to decide what kind of education would be suitable to this child. Of course, I am prepared to concede that the State has a right in case of neglect by the parent, to see.....

President: But the State will not compel a person to send anybody to a State's school, if there is another school run by Catholic clergy to which the parent wants to send his child, provided primary education is given to all children either by Government or by any other agency. Government will not interfere.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Sir, all our aided schools conform to the rules of Government. In the introduction of this new scheme they will only be too glad to co-operate with Government. But that is one thing, and taking over the management is another thing. That is why I am making all these observations. As I submitted, it is our fundamental right to educate our children, and what is most important to us, Catholics, is the atmosphere of the institution where our children are taught. That is why we are particular to send our children to schools under our management.

That being our view, I submit, it will be wounding the feelings of a vast portion of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja if Government decide upon taking over the management of the schools run by us.

President: I said, there is no question of that at all. I should be very sorry to have any honourable member of the House go away from this session with the idea that Government has got the intention of wounding the feelings of anybody or interfering with the right of anybody to educate their children in their own field and in their own way. I am still rather puzzled to account for the attitude of the honourable member when I have definitely explained that, realising as I do, the belief in the Catholic mind is that education should be imparted, with a Catholic outlook and perspective—Government do not propose to stand in the way of anybody sending their children t Catholic school provided the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

standard of general education of those schools conforms to the standards which Government have set in the matter, of reading, writing, arithmetic and other things. But what this resolution says if the language is wrong, it may be corrected—is that Government will take up the management of primary compulsory education if and to the extent to which nobody else takes it up, but to the extent to which they take it up, or are obliged to take it up, they will run it themselves, finance it themselves manage it themselves and be wholly responsible for the teachers, their salaries, their tenure of service, the school building and everything else. That is all.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I was trying to bring home to Government that we, Catholics, are very particular of the atmosphere.....)

President: Why should not that atmosphere continue? In other words, if there is no Catholic school, let us say in Thuckalay, the Catholics have to send the children to a Government managed school. Then, of course, the Government schools will have no Catholic atmosphere. But supposing, say in Nagercoil, or Kanjirapally or Kottayam there is a Catholic school, there is nothing preventing a parent sending his child to that school, so that the atmosphere may be obtained. But what this Government say is that if they run a school at Kottayam, they will run it themselves.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: The atmosphere in a school is guided by the management of the staff of the school.

President: But why do not the managements go on? I have told you very often, not a single management will be taken over by Government. In other words primary schools will be run by all. Government will not take over the management of a primary school; only, if the Government starts a school and pays the teacher Rs. 20 and the management pays Rs. 5, that private school will close in about two days. I may tell you at once it is not the intention of Government to interfere with the perspective, the atmosphere and the religious background of any schoool. They are not going to take over or assume the management, only they are going to start schools throughout the state, construct their own building, pay their own teachers, and pay them pensions, provident fund and so forth. If the other schools also exist subject to the standards set, Government will only be too glad.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: That is beside the question. Because the resolution is .....

President: This is the resolution. That Government be pleased to take the necessary steps to take up the whole control and management of Primary education in the State as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education" There is

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[President.]

no question of handing over the management at all. Primary education will be the duty of Government. And Government are not going to ask a single management, Hindu, Christian or Muslim to hand over their schools to Government; that may be taken as an unalterable policy of Government. But it may be that they will say that there must be a school for every three square miles and the Government school will be located in a place within, say, 50 yards of the Catholic school and if that Catholic school with the Catholic children can subsist after the location of the Government school, by all means, let it. But in all probability, I may say it is not likely to, excepting where the management is willing to put enough money into it, because of the necessity or obligation to preserve that atmosphere.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: But the wording of the resolution...

President: If necessary, the wording may be changed. You may propose an amendment to change the wording. But either you are in favour of the general policy or you are not. If you consider that the wording of this resolution nullifies the policy of Government, you may amend it suitably. But if you consider that the policy of Government is wrong, by all means, attack it.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I am in favour of the policy of Government to see that compulsory primary education is introduced in the State. But it is not the same thing as saying that I am in favour of the Government assuming the control of the management.

Sir, the other day, President Truman stated that the State is the servant of the people. But my friend wants to put the State as the master of the people. It is this stand, that I want to...

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: May I point out that the State does greater service to the people by taking up the education?

Mr. K. C. Chandy: With these words I close.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I oppose the resolution of Mr. Raman Pillai. We are in a State where education is free today. Though it has not been made compulsory, it is free for all those who want to take it. Compulsion is only the next step and probably if they are going to compel it will be only those who are unable to afford education. Looking at it from that point of view, let me suggest that there is not enough warranty for the State to go out and take a number of useful buildings in the place of a few who are not willing to hand over. I suppose the only alternative is to make new buildings, make new furniture and carry on different schools,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Is that necessary? That is the question. Before I proceed, I may add that this is my own view. Certainly I agree with the Government and the sponsor of the resolution in saying that primary education should be compulsory and that it should be the duty of the State to see that everyone gets a chance to get educated. But it is not the same thing to say that Government should locate schools in every square mile or in every three square miles. On the other hand, I should think that Government's policy should be decentralising as much as possible to make local bodies, and private bodies and managements take up the work and help Government in all possible ways. I mean to say that this is a matter in which full co-operation of the people is desirable and wanted. In such a matter it should be the idea of Government, according to me, to see that as many private agencies come forward to help Government and to co-operate with them. If that is so, I would suggest that Government should approach as many Village Unions and Panchayats wherever they exist, private bodies wherever they exist, religious bodies where they exist, to come forward and help Government. If my information is right, I understand that in Ceylon every teacher is being paid by Government, whichever be the institution that conducts the schools and colleges. After serving a number of years, the teachers in any school retire on pension. I suggest that this Government should do the same. Even now there is not a single primary school to which Government do not give a grant. I am subject to correction. So far I am aware, almost all the primary teachers are paid by Government, either directly or indirectly. The only question is: can Government raise the grant to the amount which they pay to their direct servants. I do not think it is a very difficult problem, if there is to be, as the Dewan stated, a cess to be levied in the matter.

Let us look at it from another point of view. Already the Government is spending a large amount of money on primary education. For paying the teachers they will have to pay a little more. Should it then be a task of the Government to find more money, or, in other words, should the taxpayer be taxed the more to find new building sites, to make more schools, new furniture and things like that? Should it not be left to these philanthropic private bodies which have, so far, volunteered to take up the task? That is the angle to which I would request the House to address themselves from. I feel sure that any advanced State should and would welcome popular co-operation in this matter. When they come forward, it should be the duty of Government to help them as much as possible.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. K. S. Joseph.]

I also suggest that the difficulties of the teachers of grant-in-aid schools. I know that in very many cases their are real difficulties can be overcome by a regular control from the departument. Therefore, I suggest that far from trying to centralise education into Government's hands, it would be the best thing to decentralise it and see that it is done by as many popular bodies as possible, helping those bodies by grants.

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കുന്നു. ഈ സഭയിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ സമർപ്പിച്ചിരിയ്ക്കുന്ന വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ റീ ആർഗനൈസേഷൻ കമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ട് പല സമുദായങ്ങളിൽപെട്ട രണ്ട് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ വിദഗ്ദ്ധ അംഗങ്ങൾ ചേർന്ന് വളരെക്കാലത്തെ ആലോചനയുടെയും പരിശ്രമത്തിന്റെയും ഫലമായിട്ടുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. അല്ലാതൊരു ഭിന്ന അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളും കൂടാതെയുള്ള ഒന്നാണ്. ആ റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പ്രാഥമികവിദ്യാഭ്യാസ പൂർണ്ണമായ മുഴുവനും ഗവൺമെൻറ് ഏറ്റെടുക്കണമെന്ന കമ്മിറ്റിക്കാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ അതും എടുത്തു പറയുമായിരുന്നു. ഏകാഭിപ്രായപ്രകാരം സമർപ്പിച്ചിരിയ്ക്കുന്ന ഈ റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ നേരെമറിച്ച് പ്രൈവറ്റ് സ്കൂൾകാരുടെ ഉദാരമായി ഗ്രാൻറ് കൊടുക്കണമെന്നും അവരെ കൂടുതൽ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നും പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു കാണുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഈ അഭിപ്രായത്തിനു ഇത്ര പെട്ടെന്നു ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു മാറ്റം വന്നതു വളരെ അത്ഭുതകരമായിരിയ്ക്കുന്നു. പ്രൈവറ്റ് സ്കൂളുകൾ ഗവൺമെൻറുതന്നെ ഏറ്റെടുക്കണമെന്നും ഗവൺമെൻറ് കൺട്രോളിൽത്തന്നെ നടത്തണമെന്നും ഉള്ള അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ അല്ലെ ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടായിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള പ്രൈവറ്റ് സ്കൂളുകൾക്ക് കൂടുതൽ ഗ്രാൻറുകൊടുത്തു അവരെ സഹായിയ്ക്കുകയാണ് വേണ്ടതു്.

President : The honourable member will see that the alternative is clear. If there is compulsory primary education, a statute will have to be enacted. Every parent who does not send his child to school will have to be prosecuted and there must be a provision made in the case of a parent who pleads that he cannot feed the child or that the child has to participate in labour in the field or otherwise that the child cannot be fed and so forth and it becomes the duty of the Government to feed the child. Therefore, it is a very big responsibility which the Government will have to undertake. The only question is whether Government should undertake the responsibility of conducting compulsory primary education, as some civilized Governments all over the world have done. The question is whether such a step is timely or premature, in the case of Travancore.

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Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : ഇപ്പോഴും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിലെയൊ നമ്മുടെ അയൽ നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളിലെയോ ഒരു ഗവണ്മെൻറുകളും പ്രൈമറി സ്കൂളുകളും ഗവണ്മെൻറധീനതയിൽ ആക്കിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നാണ് എനിയ്ക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. നാം മാത്രം ഇത്ര വേഗത്തിൽ അങ്ങു കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ ശുപാർശയെ അവഗണിച്ചും. ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരം കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നാണ് എനിയ്ക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്.

Mr. K. C. Chandy : കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഈ സംഗതി ആലോചനയ്ക്കു വരികയും ഒടുവിൽ യാതൊരു തീരുമാനത്തിലുമെത്താതെ മാറിവയ്ക്കുകയുമാണ് ചെയ്തതെന്നു മെമ്പർക്കറിയാമോ?

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : എനിക്കറിയാം. പ്രൈമറി സ്കൂൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർക്കു ശമ്പളം ശരിയായി കിട്ടുന്നില്ല എന്നുള്ളതാണു പ്രൈവറ്റു സ്കൂളുകളെല്ലാം ഗവണ്മെൻറിലേയ്ക്കു ഏറ്റെടുക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതിനു പ്രധാന കാരണമായി ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കപ്പെട്ടതു്.

President : That is a very incidental matter. Government had been confronted with the question of payment and had dealt with it already so that that question does not arise. That is during war time, the Government promised to pay a certain amount provided that the management would pay an equal amount. As soon as the situation created by the war is over, which period will last for a year or so, that payment will cease and Government will be under no obligation to pay any primary school teacher. There is no question for Government to ask that certain teachers should be paid well or not. But Government are willing to deal with the question. Here the question is complicated by the other fact as a part of the education reorganisation, of insistence upon primary compulsory education. Is the Government to start such a scheme now or not?

Mr. Paul A. Thaliath : കമ്പൽസറി പ്രൈമറി എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ വേണ്ടതാണ്. എന്നാൽ, ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള പ്രൈവറ്റു് ഏജൻസി കൾക്കു യാതൊരു ദോഷവുമുണ്ടാകാത്തവിധത്തിലായിരിക്കണം. അതു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്താൻ റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ കമ്മിറ്റി നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു പ്രൈവറ്റു സ്കൂൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളത്തിന്റെ ഒരു ശതമാനം ഗ്രാൻറു കൊടുക്കണമെന്നാണ്. ഗവണ്മെൻറു തന്നെ നേരിട്ടു ഈ രണ്ടു അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരെ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിക്കാം. അതിനും വിരോധമില്ല. അതല്ലാതെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ നടപടികൾ പാടെ തകിടം മറിക്കരുതു്. ഒരു ക

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[Mr. Paul A. Thaliath.]

തോലിക്കൻ എന്ന നിലയിൽ കത്തോലിക്കരുടെ ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഉള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ഞാൻ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. കത്തോലിക്കാ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യുവാൻ കത്തോലിക്കർ നടത്തുന്ന വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ തന്നെ ആവശ്യമാണെന്ന ഞാൻ പറയുന്നു. മറ്റ് ഏജൻസികളുടേയും സ്കൂളുകളിൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ കുട്ടികളെ അയച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ഞങ്ങൾ ഉദ്ദേശിയ്ക്കുന്ന രീതിയിൽ ഉള്ള ശിക്ഷണവും ബോധനവും ലഭിയ്ക്കുമെന്ന വിശ്വാസം എനിക്കില്ല. ഞങ്ങൾ സ്കൂളുകൾ നടത്തുന്നത് യാതൊരു ലാഭത്തേയും ഉദ്ദേശിച്ച് അല്ലെന്നും അതിലും ഉപരിയായ ഒരു കാര്യസാധ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയാണെന്നും മനസ്സിലാക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. പ്രൈവറ്റ് ഏജൻസികൾ ഇപ്പോൾ നടത്തുന്ന പ്രാഥമികവിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽ അധികഭാഗവും കത്തോലിക്കരാണ് നടത്തുന്നത്. രാജ്യത്തെ ഉത്തമ പ്രജകളാണ് കത്തോലിക്കർ. അവരുടെ കുട്ടികളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനും മതപരിജ്ഞാനത്തിനുംവേണ്ടി അവർ നടത്തുന്ന സ്കൂളുകൾക്ക് ന്യായമായ ധനസഹായം ചെയ്തു പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടത് ഗവൺമെന്റിന്റെ കടമയാണ്. അല്ലാതെ അവരുടെ കുട്ടികളുടെ മതപരിജ്ഞാനത്തിനുപോലും ഭംഗം വരുത്തുക യാതൊരു പുതിയ പദ്ധതിയും സ്വീകരിക്കരുത് എന്നാണ് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നത്.

Mr. Sulthan Muhiadheen : സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ അനുകൂലിയ്ക്കുന്നു. കാരണം, ഞാൻതന്നെ ഒരു സ്കൂളിന്റെ മാനേജരാണ്. ഈ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെയും ഇതര മാനേജരന്മാരുടെയും കഷ്ടതകൾ കണ്ടും കേട്ടും അനുഭവമുള്ള ഒരാളാണ് ഞാൻ. ഗവൺമെന്റിൽനിന്നും ഗ്രാന്റു വാങ്ങിക്കുന്ന ഈ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിലേക്ക് വിളിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു വരുന്നതിനായി ദിവസവും രാവിലെ മുന്നുരണ്ടു മണിക്കൂർ വേല ചെയ്യേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. പരിശോധനയ്ക്കായി ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർ വരുന്ന അവസരങ്ങളിൽ രണ്ടു മൂന്നു ദിവസത്തേക്ക് അവർക്ക് ഊണും ഉറക്കവും കാണുകയില്ല. ക്ലാസ്സിൽ അറന്റൻഡൻസ് കുറവായിരുന്നാൽ, എവിടെ നിന്നെങ്കിലും കുട്ടികളെ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവന്ന് എണ്ണം കാണിക്കേണ്ട ചുമതലയും ഇവർക്കുണ്ട്. ഇത് ഒരു നല്ല പ്രാക്ടീസാണെന്നു എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ഈ വക സംഗതികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കമ്മൽസറി എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ നടപ്പാക്കണമെന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ഞാൻ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുകയും അതോടുകൂടി സകല മാനേജ്മെന്റ് സ്കൂളുകളും ഗവൺമെന്റ് ഏറ്റെടുത്തു നടത്തണമെന്ന് അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുകയും ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

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ഇന്ന് ഗ്രാൻറ് സ്കൂളുകൾ മുഴുവൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ഏറെറടുക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഏകദേശം പതിനായിരം അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് സർവീസിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതാണ്. ഇപ്പോൾ ഏകദേശം രണ്ടായിരം പ്രൈമറിസ്കൂളുകളുണ്ട്: സ്കൂളൊന്നിന് ആവരേജ് 6 അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരെ കണക്കാക്കിയാൽ പതിനായിരം അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർക്ക് ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ജോലി കിട്ടുന്നതാണ്. പതിനായിരം അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർ എന്നുവച്ചാൽ പതിനായിരം കുടുംബങ്ങളെന്നാണ്, വിചാരിക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഒരു കുടുംബത്തിൽ ശരാശരി 6 അംഗങ്ങളെ കണക്കാക്കിയാൽ അൻപതിനായിരം പേർക്കാണ് സന്തോഷമായി ജീവിക്കാൻ കഴിയുന്നതു്. ഒന്നരണ്ടു തലമുറ കഴിയുന്നതുവരെ ആ കുടുംബങ്ങൾ ഈ ഏൽപ്പാട് സദയം സമ്മതിച്ച ഗവണ്മെൻറിനേയും അതിനു കാരണഭൂതനായ ദിവാൻജി അവർകളെയും എന്നെന്നേക്കും സ്തുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതിനു യാതൊരു സംശയവുമില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ട് ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതു് യാതൊരു സ്കൂളുകളും പ്രൈവറ്റ് ഏജൻസിക്കു വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കാതെ ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും അതിൻെറ കൺട്രോൾ ഏറെറടുത്തു നടത്തണമെന്നാണു ഞാൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നതു.

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan: സർ, ദേശീയ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിന്മേൽ നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം രാജ്യത്തു് അടുത്തകാലത്തു വ്യാപകമാക്കാൻ ആലോചിക്കുന്നതിൽ സന്തോഷിക്കാത്തവർ ആരുംതന്നെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കയില്ലെന്നാണ് എൻെറ വിശ്വാസം. അതു് രാജ്യത്തിനു പൊതുവേ അമൂല്യമായ ഒരു നേട്ടമാണ്. നമ്മുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ പരിഷ്കാരം മൗലികമായ തത്വങ്ങളെ അധാരമാക്കിയാണെന്നു കാണുന്നതും സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അതതു പ്രദേശത്തെ വിഭവങ്ങളേയും ആവശ്യങ്ങളേയും ആസ്പദമാക്കി ഭിന്നരൂപത്തിലായിരിക്കുമെന്നു കാണുന്നതും ശ്രദ്ധേയമാണ്. ചില തത്വങ്ങളനുസരിച്ച് കത്തോലിക്ക സമുദായത്തിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട ഒരു മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ ഇതിനെപ്പററി ചില വൈഷമ്യങ്ങൾ ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ചതിൻെറ അർത്ഥം എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ കഴിയും. അതേസമയത്തു് ദേശീയാദർശത്തിൻെറ പേരിൽ രൂപവൽക്കരിച്ച രാഷ്ട്രീയകക്ഷികളോടു് അനുബന്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന എൻെറ ബഹുമാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ മി. ജോസഫ് ഒരു വ്യക്തിപരമായിട്ടുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം എന്ന ന്യായേന ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർത്തതിൽ ഞാൻ അത്യന്തം ഖേദിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I said, it is my own opinion.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan : സർ, സമുദായകാര്യമെന്ന നിലയിൽ വ്യക്തിപരമായിട്ടുള്ള അഭിപ്രായവും, രാഷ്ട്രീയകക്ഷിയുടെ പേരിൽ അവ സരത്തിലുള്ള അഭിപ്രായവും ബഹുവിചിത്രമായ നയവിശേഷ മാണ്.

President: In this House every honourable member expresses his opinion, such an opinion may coincide with the opinion of the political party or religious party or some other party or it may not. In this House we are concerned with the opinion of the honourable members expressed on the floor of the House.

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan : ദേശീയലക്ഷ്യത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു രാഷ്ട്രീയകക്ഷിയെന്നുള്ള നിലയിൽ അങ്ങു കരുതുന്നു എന്നു കാണുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഞാൻ ഈ വസ്തുത പ്രസ്താവിക്കാൻ കാരണമായത്.

Mr K. S. Joseph: That is exactly why I said it was my own opinion and not that of the party.

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan : സർ, ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സംബന്ധിച്ചു സാരമായ പരിഷ്കാരം നടപ്പിലാക്കണമെന്നു ദീർഘകാലമായി ജനങ്ങൾ മുറവിളി കൂട്ടിയതിനെ തുടർന്നു ആണ് ഇപ്പോൾ ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള ഒരു തീരുമാനത്തിലേക്ക് എത്തിച്ചേർന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു്. അതിലേക്ക് നിയുക്തമായിട്ടുള്ള കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽ വിവിധ സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളേയും പരിഗണിക്കത്തക്ക നിലയിൽ എല്ലാത്തരത്തിലുള്ള അംഗങ്ങളേയും ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിയിരുന്നു. പ്രസ്തുത കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽ വാദപ്രതിവാദം നടത്തിയ അവസരത്തിൽ കത്തോലിക്ക സമുദായത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട ബിഷപ്പന്മാർ, ആർച്ച് ബിഷപ്പന്മാർ മുതലായവർ ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ യാതൊരു അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസവും പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചില്ല.

Mr. K. C. Chandy : ആ കമ്മിറ്റിയിൽ മാനേജ്മെൻറ് സ്കൂളുകളെ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് എടുക്കുന്ന പ്രശ്നം ആലോചനാവിഷയമായിരുന്നുവോ?

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan : പൊതുവേയുള്ള ഒരു ഏഗ്രിമെൻറിൽ കമ്മിറ്റി എത്തിച്ചേർന്നുവെങ്കിലും പ്രസ്തുത കാര്യവും ഒരു വാദവിഷയമായിരുന്നുവെന്ന അതിലെ ഒരംഗമായ എനിക്ക് മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്ന സമുദായം എക്കാലത്തും മുന്നിൽപരം മാനേജ്മെൻറ് സ്കൂളുകൾ ഇപ്പോൾ നടത്തിവരുന്നുണ്ട്. മാത്രമല്ല, ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് ഇദംപ്രഥമമായി ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പാക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടി അത്യധികം പരിശ്രമിച്ച ഒരു സമുദായത്തിലെ അംഗവുമാണു ഞാൻ. എന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപ്രചരണത്തിൽ ഏർപ്പെ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ട്ടുള്ള ഒരു ധാർമ്മികമായ നാളാവശ്യത്തോടുകൂടിയാണ്. ലോകത്തിലുള്ള വടത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയുള്ള യാതൊരു പരിഗണനയുമില്ലാതെ രാഷ്ട്രത്തിന്റെ പൊതുവേയുള്ള നന്മയെ മാത്രം ലക്ഷ്യമാക്കിയാണ്. ജനസാമാന്യത്തിനു പ്രൈമറി വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമായിരിയ്ക്കുന്നുവെന്നു കണ്ടതിനാലാണു മിഷനറിമാരും, അവരുടെ അനുയായികളും സ്വന്തം ചെലവിൽപ്പെട്ടുള്ളത്. എന്നാൽ ഇന്നു ദേശീയ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിന്മേൽ ആ ഭാരമേറിയ ചുമതല ഗവണ്മെന്റു സ്വന്തം നിലയിൽ കൈയ്യേറ്റുകൊള്ളാമെന്നുള്ള സന്മനസ്സും സന്നദ്ധതയും പ്രകടിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥിതിക്കു ഞങ്ങളുടെ പ്രൈമറി വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളുടെ ചുമതല ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ ഏല്പിച്ചിട്ടു മറ്റു സേവനങ്ങൾ രാജ്യക്ഷേമാർത്ഥം നിർവഹിക്കാൻ ഞങ്ങളും തയ്യാറാണ്. അതു ഒരു പ്രതിഷേധമനഃസ്ഥിതിയോടുകൂടിയല്ല; പ്രത്യുതപൂർവാധികം സന്തോഷപൂർവമായ സേവനസന്നദ്ധതയോടുകൂടിയാണ്. മിഡിൽസ്കൂൾ-ഹൈസ്കൂൾ-കോളേജ് എന്നീ നിലകളിലുള്ള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനോടു സൗഹാർദ്ദമായി സഹകരിച്ചു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കാമെന്നുള്ള മനഃസ്ഥിതിയാണു ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളതു്. ദേശീയപുരോഗമനപരമായ ലക്ഷ്യത്തിൽ ഒരു സമുദായത്തിന്റെ പ്രത്യേക താല്പര്യം ഒരിക്കലും പൊതുവായ നേട്ടത്തിനു ബാധകമായി നിൽക്കരുതെന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായമാണ് എനിക്കുള്ളതു്. മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെ സ്ഥിതിഗതികൾ എങ്ങിനെയായിരുന്നാലും പ്രഥമമായി ഒരു തിരുവിതാംകൂറുകാരൻ എന്നുള്ള നിലയിലാണ് ഞാൻ അഭിമാനംകൊള്ളുന്നതു. ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട സമുദായത്തിനും അതേ അഭിപ്രായംതന്നെയാണെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതു്. എത്ര വിഷമതകളുണ്ടായിരുന്നാലും വിശാലമായ ഒരു ലക്ഷ്യത്തിൽ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഭാവിഭാഗധേയം സ്മരിച്ചു് സഹിഷ്ണുതയോടും വിശാലവീക്ഷണത്തോടുംകൂടി അതിലുണ്ടാകാവുന്ന പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ തരണംചെയ്യാൻ സന്നദ്ധരാകേണ്ടതാണു്. സർവ്വോപരി പട്ടിണിപ്പാവങ്ങളായ ഇന്നേകം പ്രൈവറ്റുസ്കൂൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ വിഷമപ്രശ്നത്തിനു തൽമൂലം പരിഹാരം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതാണ് എന്നെ കൂടുതൽ സംതൃപ്തനാക്കുന്നതു്. മറ്റൊരു പ്രധാന സംഗതി ക്രൈസ്തവ മിഷനറിമാരുടെ സ്കൂളുകൾ ഉൾപ്പെടെ എല്ലാ പ്രൈവറ്റു സ്കൂൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരും ഒരു ആശ്വാസം എന്നനിലയിൽ സർക്കാർസർവ്വീസിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കാൻ അപേക്ഷിച്ചു കാത്തിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഈ പ്രമേയം പാസാകുന്നപക്ഷം നിരവധി അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ കുടുംബങ്ങൾക്കും ഉദിതാനുവേങ്ങളിൽനിന്നുള്ള ശോചനവും ആശ്വാസപ്രദമായ ഒരു അനുഗ്രഹവുമായിരിക്കും. ഇന്നത്തെ മാനേജ്മെന്റു

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. A. N. Sathyanesan]

സ്കൂളുകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് വലിയ പരാതി പല സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലും കേൾക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറ് അധികൃതന്മാർ ഒരു തീരുമാനംചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ മറൊരുവശത്തുകൂടി മാനേജ്മെൻറുകാർ മസരശ്രുപത്തിൽ മറൊരു തീരുമാനം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനാൽ, ഇന്നു ലഭിക്കുന്ന ചുരുങ്ങിയ ശമ്പളംപോലും കൃത്യമായി കിട്ടാൻ വഴിയില്ലാതെ പല അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരും നിരാശയോടുകൂടി കാലയാപനം ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതിർക്കുന്നതു പട്ടിണിപ്പാവങ്ങളുടെ വയറ്റിലടിക്കുന്നതിനു തുല്യമാണ്. വസ്തുതകൾ സൂക്ഷ്മാവലോകനംചെയ്യുന്നതായാൽ നമ്മുടെ ഒരു വലിയ ഭാരം ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ ഏൽപ്പിക്കാൻ വൈമനസ്യം പ്രദർശിപ്പിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. തന്നിമിത്തം ഈ പ്രമേയം ഐകകണ്ഠേന പാസാക്കപ്പെടാം. ഓരോ സമുദായത്തിനും സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപ്രവൃത്തനപരമായ വാസനാവൈഭവം ഉപരിയായ നിലയിൽ പ്രയോജനപ്പെടുത്താൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നാണ് എൻറെ അഭിപ്രായം.

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: Sir, there are three aspects of the question that have to be considered when discussing this motion. There is the responsibility for primary education, the control of primary education and the management of primary education. These aspects have to be clearly understood before a judgment is possible on this matter. When a Government is launching on a scheme of compulsory primary education it naturally follows that the responsibility must also be that of the Government and no Government which is not prepared to take up that responsibility can adopt a scheme of nation-wide compulsory education. I hope therefore, that there will be no difference of opinion in this House on the ultimate responsibility of the Government in the matter of primary education. The second question is control. As for control, even today, the entire control of primary education is in the hands of Government. Whether it is a Government school or whether it is a management school, the control is entirely Government's. The only question that has to be decided is therefore, the nature of the management. As it is, there are two different kinds of managements in Travancore, *viz.*, the Departmental management and the private management. The question is whether these two forms of managements should continue or not, whether departmental schools and aided schools as such should continue or whether the management of all the schools must be under the department. That is the only question at present before the House. Even this question will arise only when grant is demanded. As it has been repeatedly made clear by the Chair, any management in Travancore is free to conduct any school, and so long as they conform to the departmental rules and

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

standard and syllabuses the Department will recognise the school, but they will not give grant to the school. The question of management comes in only when the question of grants comes in. The honourable member Mr. Chandy thinks that it will curtail the freedom of managements to conduct their own schools. It will not. Any management can conducts its own schools. The only thing is that they will have to conform to the Departmental instructions and standards.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Is it not what they are doing now?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: Certainly. They can do so hereafter also. The only difference will be that they will not get grant. If this motion is accepted the only change that will come in the administrative system of education in Travancore is that hereafter a school conducted not directly by the department will not be getting financial aid from the Government. It must be clearly understood that the question is not about the responsibility. It is not about control or freedom to conduct schools. It is merely a question of the financial aid to be given by Government to a school which is not under direct Government management.

It has been pointed out by the honourable member Mr. Chandy that in America and England various denominations are conducting schools and are recognized and aided by Government. As has been explained by Mrs. Korah and some other members of this House we can very well understand what is known as the catholic ideal of education. The catholics are therefore, particular that even where there is other provisions for education they must have their own institutions in order to cater to more particular ideals. In England, America and other parts of Europe they are conducting schools even though the schools may not be absolutely necessary to serve local needs. To a question from one Mr. Chandy replied that in America they are in receipt of Government aid. My own information is that in America they are running them by means of endowed funds. I do not wish to be categorical because I am afraid that the practice is not uniform in America. My information is that they do not get Government aid. In England grant is being paid but Government have got control over appointments and conditions of service of teachers. Even supposing that, in America and England grant is being paid the condition here is very different. In those countries we have not heard any critisism raised against the management regarding their morale or character. On the contrary that is the complaint in Travancore. I recall a time 11 years back, when standing on the other side of the house and speaking on the Statham Committee Report, I talked strongly

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai]

advocating the nationalisation of primary education. Then I could do that without fear of being misunderstood because I happened to be connected with one of the most important educational organizations in the State. Circumstances are altered now, but I am mentioning this to show that this is not a new idea in Travancore. For the last several years this demand has been going on. The mismanagement in private schools has awakened the conscience of the people and they are seeking a radical remedy for that. I can talk from personal experience whatever reforms Government may contemplate, whatever administrative steps they may take, whatever restrictions they may try to impose on the management, as an experienced manager I challenge, I shall circumvent all those rules. I shall give one example. Now people are talking a lot about direct payment of the salary of teachers from Government treasury. There was a time when stipends were given to the training college students—it has been restarted recently. When stipends were paid, the practice was this. The school managers sent the money to the principal, the Principal gave the money to the teacher, the teacher gave a receipt to the Principal and when it was sent to the Government, they paid the grant to the manager. I am sure that if this was mentioned in England or America, they would think that the system was perfect, that there was no loop hole and that no malpractice was possible. But I can assure the House that most of the teachers never got any stipend because even before the teachers actually went to the training college or were relieved from the school the managers made the teachers pay in cash the share to be met by the management. In a country like this, to speak of the high morale of the managements in America and England and to make a decision based upon that is futile.

Mr. G. Devi Varma: Very recently in England there was a hue and cry among the private school teachers for increasing their pay and Government thought of increasing the pay.

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: I am not speaking of the increase of pay. I am talking of the uncertainty of the amount given by Government going into the hands of the teachers. Therefore, on the merits of the question, I am sure there cannot be much difference of opinion.

The honourable member Mr. Chandy was saying that financially Government would be running a very great risk. It is not so serious a risk as he contemplates. To compare the present rate of expenditure on Government schools and aided schools is not correct. At present Government are paying Rs. 18 in the case of Government School teachers and only Rs. 8 in the case of Private

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

School teachers. The recommendation of the Committee is that 75 per cent of the pay should be given as grant by the Government. That makes the situation entirely different. For example, if Government are to take up all the existing schools without any exception, the difference will come to Rs. 8 lakhs only. Not more than that. If compulsory education is to be introduced and if the whole State is brought under compulsory education and if every boy and girl in the age group 5 to 10 is to be brought under instruction and all schools are to be managed by the Government the additional annual expenditure will be Rs. 16 lakhs only. Government have budgetted for Rs. 1,20,00,000. Rs. 16 lakhs is not going to make much difference especially when it is going to bring better conditions in the schools.

One other aspect is the capital expenditure. It is not a big problem in Travancore. Even now most of the schools that are conducted by the department are in buildings constructed by the public and handed over to Government. I am quite sure that a proper move from the Government will enthuse the public in this matter and they would themselves put up the necessary buildings. After all even if it comes to the Government themselves having to put up the buildings they can do so by raising a loan. The additional recurring expenditure will be only Rs. 16 lakhs as compared to Rs. 120 lakhs. Therefore the financial aspect of the question is not of very great importance.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Am I to understand that the Government is supporting the motion in its present form?

President: The motion before the House is the resolution of Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai that "this Council recommends to Government that Government be pleased to take the necessary steps to take up the whole control and management of Primary education in the State as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education."

The motion was put and carried.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: I demand a poll.

A poll was taken and the House divided as follows:—

AYES—30.

1. Mr. S. Narayana Iyer	7. ,, K. R. Narayana Aiyar
2. ,, N. Ramakrishna Pillai	8. ,, M. K. Gopala Pillai
3. ,, C. P. Gopala Panicker	9. Dewan Bahadur L. Venkatakrishnan
4. ,, H. C. Papworth	10. Mr. T. M. Chidambara Thanu Pillai
5. ,, A. N. Tampi	11. ,, P. Gopalan
6. ,, Kainikara M. Padmanabha Pillai	

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

AYES – 30

12. Mr. D. Krishnan Potti
13. Sahib Bahadur M. K. Mackar Pillai
14. Mr. G. Madhavan
15. „ N. Madhavan Namboothiri
16. Sahib Bahadur M. Muhamed Mustaffa
17. Mr. G. Narayana Aiyar
18. „ N. Narayana Kurup
19. „ K. G. Narayana Panicker
20. „ V. N. Padmanabha Pillai
21. Mr. T. W. U. Park
22. „ K. A. Raman Pillai
23. „ G. Revi Varma
24. „ Revi Varma Valia Raja
25. „ A. N. Satyanesan
26. Sahib Bahadur K. Shahul Hameed
27. „ M. Sultan Muhiadheen
28. Sry. P. Thankamma
29. Mr. S. Veeriah Reddiar, and
30. „ M. K. Velu Pillai

NOES—4.

1. Mrs. Thressiamma Kora
2. „ K. S. Joseph
3. Mr. Paul A. Thaliath, and
4. „ K. C. Chandy

NEUTRALS—1.

1. Mr. A. Gabriel Nadar

Mr. N. Narayana Kurup: Mr. Gabriel Nadar has not stood up for for, against or neutral.

President: If he has not stood up for for or against he will be taken as neutral.

The motion was put and carried 30 voting for, 4 against and 1 neutral.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: Sir, I move the following resolution :—

"This Council recommends to Government that the salary of private school teachers both in the middle schools and in the high schools be brought on a level with that of the teachers in the departmental schools and that the Government while insisting upon the management to remit an amount equivalent to 25 per cent of the pay of teachers, in the Government treasury be pleased to directly undertake the payment of these teachers."

The recommendation of the Committee is that if a private management is prepared to deposit the entire fee collection and conform to the other conditions of equipment etc, laid down in the report, Government is prepared to make up the deficiency up to the extent of 75 per cent of the pay of teachers. This recommendation I think applies both to middle schools and high schools. The clear intention of the Government is that the remaining 25 per cent of the teachers' salary ought to be met by the private management and the pay of the teacher in the private school should be on a par with that of the teacher in the departmental school.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Now, the question is whether the intention of the Government will in actual practice be carried out; whether the private school teachers will be able to receive the same salary as the teachers of the Government Schools. Of course as far as the High schools are concerned I find that there is some difference in the recommendation. The Report says that the teachers in the aided High schools should be paid on an equitable basis subject to the approval of the Director of Public Instruction. Whatever that might be, my point is this; My anxiety is only that payment should reach the hands of the teachers, and therefore it is, that I move this resolution. The recommendation of the Committee is that the entire fee collections should be deposited in the treasury. Over and above that, I would insist upon another condition. That is to say, that the management should deposit collections but also 25 per cent of the amount necessary for the salary of the teachers.

Mr. G. Revi Varma: Supposing the schools are self-sufficient. What is the meaning of this resolution?

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: My proposal is only to ensure the payment of full salary to the teachers. If the schools are self supporting, the management will not incur any loss. With a view to see that the full payment reaches the teachers, I suggest this method. To state once more, over and above the recommendation of the Committee, another condition also should be imposed namely 25 per cent of the salary of teachers also should be deposited by the management in the Treasury so that the Government could take up the direct responsibility of paying the teachers' salary in full and if there is a balance after meeting the expenditure the management could certainly take it back. No body else is going to appropriate it. I do not want to say anything more regarding the matter and I hope that this House will accept my resolution.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker: I second the resolution. I may state for the information of the House that in a meeting of the teachers held at Mavelikara with Mr. K. K. Kuruvilla in the Chair, a resolution for this purpose was carried.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: This resolution does not agree with the recommendation of the Committee and it is difficult to understand the full implications of a resolution of this kind. I can understand the Private Management being asked to pay its 25 per cent into the Treasury. But what is going to happen to the other fee collections? Are they to remain in the hands of the management, and is Government going to have no control? I think the suggestion is impracticable. What we have suggested is very clear The Government grant should take the form of a subsidy, not more than 75 per cent of the pay of the teachers, the management paying the balance.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: I want to clarify the position. I accept the recommendation of the Committee. But the whole amount should be deposited into the Treasury, and over and above that, they must be asked to pay the 25 per cent so that the Government may only pay the deficiency.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: The whole point is that they will be required to place in the Treasury all their fee collections, not merely the 25 per cent, but everything that they collect.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: That is accepted, but I do not know whether the honourable member means any addition to that.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: What is the point in doing that? If a school is so rich, is self-supporting and the teachers are paid in full, then there is no need to ask these schools to put their money in the Treasury. That seems to be a round about way of doing financial work and is unnecessary. But in ordinary cases, all the collections that the school make are to be deposited in the Government Treasury so that Government will see what the deficiency is.

Mr. A. Narayana Tampi: Sir, as it is, the grant-in-aid by way of salaries alone comes to Rs. 11 lakhs. On the other hand, the maintenance grants are usually given only when there is a deficit. So the suggestion of the Committee was that we should pay up to 75 per cent of the deficit in the teachers' salaries. It is not binding and is only a recommendation that we should pay up to 75 per cent. Then again, in the Secondary Schools and the Middle Schools, maintenance grants are not very often asked because it involves the payment of salary according to scales fixed by Government.

President: Is it not generally the case that they result generally in a surplus out of which they finance the primary Schools?

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: Yes Sir. In fact, many of the Middle and High Schools are in no need of it. We inspect the accounts and if there is any irregularity, we inform the manager. The maintenance grants are seldom asked for. When a deficit results, then the maintenance grants are given.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: I do not press the motion.

The resolution was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: Sir, one resolution was passed over.

President: Order, order. It has been pointed out that resolution No. 4 has been passed over. I did not think there is any discussion on that.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

The motion that this council recommends to Government that primary education be made compulsory throughout the State on a ten-year plan was put to vote and carried.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker; Sir, I move resolution No. 8.

"This Council recommends that adequate provision be made by framing rules to protect the interests of aided school teachers when their seniority or service is disregarded by the Management in the matter of appointment or promotion."

In moving this resolution, I wish to read certain portions from a letter sent to me by one of the experienced teachers in a high school explaining their grievances.

President: The honourable member may utilise the arguments in the letter as long as he is not putting it on the table. You may say "as I believe" etc.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker. The teacher there complaints that in management schools when promotion as Headmaster or other questions come, their seniority is overlooked.

President; Such things are happening here in Government.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker; Not that. To explain that, I must read one sentence from that letter. "At Mavelikara, the first assistant protested and the Director and the Government finally passed orders to appoint him as Headmaster. But the manager has appealed to the Viceroy through the Political Agent that the Government are interfering in missionary institutions. Mr. Steward Smith, the Manager has not yet appointed the First Assistant as Headmaster. The Government seems to be hesitating. However they ought to and can interfere in the appointment".

President; Yes, honourable Member will proceed. I do not think the Viceroy will be likely to be interfered with.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker: My idea is to point out that in schools managed by private agencies such complaints arise. It is therefore necessary that some rules should be framed to safeguard the interests of the teachers. This is provided for in the recommendations of the Committee. The Committee accepts the proposition that all teachers whether in private or Government schools should receive the same rate of salary and in addition "..... (illegible) ....." I emphasise the word "Security of Tenure". In the Report there is that provision. So, I move that some rules may be passed in this connection. I wish to point out, in this connection, the recommendations of the Ceylon Committee on page 122 of their Report. They recommend that an Ordinance entitled the Assistant School Teachers' Tenure Ordinance be passed. So, I move that some rules may be framed to protect the interests of the teachers.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: I second it.

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: I may assure the honourable member that we have standing orders and rules to prevent any injustice being done to any teacher in private schools. With regard to the appointment of Headmasters, it stands on a different footing. In case a person who is senior is not found competent to control the institution, the Department generally accepts the recommendation of the management to put in the proper person as Headmaster.

I may, in this connection, point out that in England you will never find the senior man being selected always as Headmaster. The selection there is always made by taking other circumstances into consideration. But seniority is important and the Government will see to it that whenever it is violated without just cause he is reinstated. With regard to the teachers, it is found that there are very few complaints about their legitimate claims being overlooked. If there are any, we have got full power to set aside the orders of the manager. We have the powerful weapon of withdrawing recognition, which means that no pupil of that institution will be allowed to sit for the Departmental examinations. I can assure the honourable member that justice will be meted out in all cases.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker: I do not press. The motion was, by leave of the House withdrawn.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai (*Thovala cum Agastiswaram*): Sir, I move the following resolution:

> "This Council recommends to Government that the claims of Private School teachers be considered when recruitments are made to departmental institutions and that their period of service in private schools be taken into account for calculating their confirmation, promotion and pension."

In moving this resolution, I have to make a few remarks. A large numbers of teachers are now needed for employment from private schools to be taken over by Government. A large number of teachers are also recruited now. The teachers who have got sufficient qualifications and have put in a service of a large number of years in private schools and are getting large salary are being drafted to Government service. When such teachers are recruited to Government service, their period of service in private schools should be taken into consideration for calculating their confirmation, promotion and pension besides the initial salary to be fixed by Government. If a person who gets about Rs. 60 in private school is taken to a Government school in the Under-Graduate Section on Rs. 30 60, much hardship is caused to the candidate. Therefore, I move that

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

when such recruitments are made, their period of service and their pay in private schools be taken into account for calculating their confirmation, promotion and pension. They must also be given the similar rank when they are taken into the Departmental schools.

Mr. Sultan Muhiadeen: I second it.

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: This point has been raised in several cases. We certainly take members of the teaching profession from the private schools into Government Schools. In cases where the Government are convinced of the qualifications, merit, ability and the length of service of the teacher whom we take into Government service, adequate consideration is shown; and therefore it is that the Government have ordered in some cases that such teachers should be given Rs. 100 which is the maximum of the second grade. For instance, a gentleman with a first-class and a gold-medalist and who has been a Headmaster of a Private School for a long time can be put on the maximum of the Second Grade, but to make it a general rule will, I think, not be quite equitable. I will explain the difficulties to the honourable member. If a general rule is made, every Private School teacher will use his position as a spring-board for jumping into Government service. He may not wish to stay in his school for a long time. So, he will neither be loyal nor efficient in his school. If he is to be an effective teacher, he must be perfectly loyal to the institution which he serves. Unless there is complete co-operation between him and the Management, I do not think there will be any peace either for the teacher or for the Management so far as that particular institution is concerned.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: Is the new appointment made with the consent of the Management of the school?

Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi: The management will certainly be consulted. What I say is that the teachers of the management schools should not think that their schools could be used as some sort of training ground. Further, we must be fair to the Government school teachers also. Supposing a person from a private school is entertained on Rs. 100 in Government service, as a matter of course, it will invitably lead to dis-satisfaction and heart-burning to a rank and file of Government school teachers. We have got over 8,000 teachers in the Department. It will not, therefore, be necessarily giving them a real chance for promotion if such recruitments are made at every turn. We can, of course, make exceptions in the case of able and intelligent teachers in whose case their service is taken into account and a higher pay is given,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi]

But, to make a general rule to the effect that service in Private school will be counted for promotion and pension in Government service would certainly interfere with the efficiency of the school masters in Government service. I do not, therefore think the honourable member will now press that point. We certainly want more teachers and in fact we have recently taken to Government service over 100 graduates and a good few have been recruited from private schools. We are not taking these teachers without the consent of the Managements, as in all cases, the Managements should give their consent in writing. But it is not fair to make a rule on this point and thus to stop the legitimate promotion of people who have served for over ten or fifteen years in the Government schools. That will make the Government servants already in service, inefficient and discontented. Further, teachers in the private schools should not think that at any moment they can go over to Government schools. There may be some arrangements by which exceptions will be made. For these reasons, I am sure the honourable member will not press the resolution.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: On the assurance given by the Director of Public Instruction, I withdraw the resolution.

Resolution, by leave, was withdrawn.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: Sir, I move.

"This Council recommends to Government that sufficient number of Special Middle and High Schools as provided for Arabic and Sanskrit in the report be provided for Tamil also in the taluks where Tamilians predominate namely Tovala, Agastiswaram, Shencottah, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Trivandrum and Devicolam, and in other places where there is a demand for it."

President: Honourable member will realise that hereafter there will be no need for this special provisions because the tuition will be in Tamil in the Tamil area or in Malayalam in the Malayalam area.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: In moving this resolution, I may mention that there are about ten lakhs of Tamilians distributed throughout the seven taluks which I have mentioned in the resolution. In the Report, while by the introduction of the Middle, Technical and Academic High Schools, the abolition of the Malayalam and Tamil schools is now contemplated.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: The abolition of the English High Schools will be effected and the others retained.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: There are Tamil Middle Schools and Tamil High Schools. The Tamil High Schools contain the ninth class, after completion of which the Tamil Higher Examination is taken. The Middle School ends with the seventh class. The students who pass the curriculum provided for the ninth class are more than equal to the standard of the University Course. There is provision for teaching Tamil literature and grammar ; and Tamil is a classical language which requires special courses of study to get a mastery over it. Now, the time which could be allotted to Tamil in the present high schools and the middle schools is one or two hours per day, because they include in the curriculum a lot of subjects. In the present scheme, translation will have to be made by teachers who have no proficiency in the language, because they will teach in the mother-tongue. To get the standard of education which the language deserves is not possible in the present schools with the present curriculum of studies. So, as in the case of Arabic and Sanskrit for which special schools have been provided, when compulsory education in the fifth class is over, Tamil students may also be provided with a special Tamil course of studies or the present VII and IX class studies may be retained. When the ninth class in Tamil is passed, in which higher proficiency in the language is attained and a greater standard is expected candidates who have passed may be given admission in English schools in a fourth form or a fifth form as in the case of students in Arabic or Sanskrit to cater to the needs of a large population which is interested in Tamil literature. After a hard fight for twenty years, we have got the ninth class which is now being worked. My opinion is that the abolition of the existing Tamil classes and the introduction of new Tamil Schools in their place will not be a good step because it cannot be expected to develop the language or to give a greater standard of instruction. Therefore, without prejudice to the introduction of the new middle schools, and High schools or the Technical Schools, the present system of Tamil schools may be continued. There cannot be any objection to it at all, because only in places like Shencottah, Nagercoil and Vilavancode, there are Tamil High Schools. People may be of the view that compulsion will induce every school to be a language school with English as a compulsory second language with Geography, History and Science, to be taught in the vernacular. Where will be the occasion or the arrangement to be made for imparting Tamil education so as to develop Tamil? Therefore, when the present system like the 7th class and the 9th class is allowed to continue, people who wish to go to the technical or academic schools may go and join them. It will also be economical

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. T. M. Chidabarathanu Pillai]

so far as the expenses are concerned. They will have to pay only two or three fanams to the vernacular schools, while from the 1st form onwards, they will have to pay Rs. 2. or 3 per mensem. For these reasons, I recommend that the 7th and 9th class may be allowed to continue.

Mr. G. Narayana Aiyar : Unless you get special education, can you get Tamil Pandits ?

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai : They say the Pandits are being allowed to teach, but where from can the Pandits come when there is no school.....?

Mr. M. K. Velu Pillai : I second the resolution.

Mr. S. Veeriah Reddiar (*Commerce and Industry-North*) : സർ, യൂണിവേഴ്സിറ്റി ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകയില്ലാ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടിരുന്ന ഒരു കാലമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അതെല്ലാം കഴിഞ്ഞു ഇപ്പോൾ യൂണിവേഴ്സിറ്റിയും വന്നു. അതോടുകൂടി നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസകാര്യവും ഇപ്പോൾ ആലോചനയിൽ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. തൊഴിൽപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുന്നതിനും ആലോചിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ കുറഞ്ഞതു പത്തുലക്ഷത്തോളമാളുകൾ തമിഴ് സംസാരിക്കുന്നവരായി ഉണ്ടെന്നുള്ള സംഗതിക്കുടി ഓർക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. അവരുടെ കുട്ടികൾക്ക് തമിഴ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം തന്നെ വേണമെന്ന് നിർബന്ധമുണ്ട്. അതിനു നാഗരുകോവിലിലും, ചെങ്കോട്ടയിലും മാത്രം ഏതാനും തമിഴ് സ്കൂളുകൾ ഉണ്ടെന്നല്ലാതെ തമിഴ് സംസാരിക്കുന്നവർ അധികമുള്ള പല സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും വിശേഷിച്ചും കോട്ടയം, കായംകുളം, കൊല്ലം, ആലപ്പുഴ എന്നീ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽപോലും തമിഴ് പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങളില്ലാ. നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പിലാക്കുന്ന ഈ കാലത്തു മലയാളത്തിനും ഇംഗ്ലീഷിനും മാത്രം പ്രാധാന്യം കൊടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു തമിഴിനെ തള്ളിക്കളയുന്നതു എതായും സങ്കടകരമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം തുടങ്ങുന്നതോടുകൂടി തിരുവിതാംകൂറിന്റെ നാനാഭാഗങ്ങളിലും തമിഴിനെക്കുടി പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം വേണ്ട ഏർപ്പാടു ചെയ്യണമെന്നു അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

സർ, കച്ചവടക്കാർക്ക് മദ്രാസ് പ്രസിഡൻസിയിലുള്ള മറ്റു പല സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലെ കച്ചവടക്കാരുമായി തമിഴിൽ എഴുത്തുകുത്തു നടത്തേണ്ട ആവശ്യം പലതുമുണ്ട്. തമിഴിൽതന്നെ കണക്കെഴുതുന്ന കച്ചവടക്കാർ ധാരാളംപേരുണ്ട്. തമിഴ് അഭ്യസിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം ഇല്ലാത്ത

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തുകൊണ്ട് ഒരെഴുത്തു വായിക്കുന്നതിനോ ഒരു മറുപടി എഴുത്തയയ്ക്കുന്നതിനോ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്ത ഒരവസ്ഥയാണ് ഇവിടെയുള്ള മിക്ക തമിഴർക്കും കൈവന്നിരിക്കുന്നത്. എഴുത്തുകാം വായിക്കുന്നതും, മറുപടികാം അയക്കുന്നതും ഇപ്പോാം അന്യസഹായത്താൽ മാത്രമാണ്. തമിഴിനെ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിൽ മറ്റു സമുദായങ്ങാംക്കോ, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങാംക്കോ, യാതൊരു അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസവും ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ലാ. ക്രിസ്ത്യാനിയായാലും, മഹമ്മദീയനായാലും, നായരായാലും ശരി തമിഴ് ഭാഷാഭിവൃദ്ധിയിൽ അവരെല്ലാം താല്പര്യമുള്ളവരാണെന്നു എനിക്കു നിശ്ചയമുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പിലാക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി തമിഴ് ഭാഷാഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കും ഗവണ്മെൻറു വേണ്ട സഹായം ചെയ്യണമെന്നപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Mr. K. G. Narayana Panicker : അവരവരുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അവരവരുടെ മാതൃഭാഷയിൽതന്നെ വേണമെന്നു വ്യവസ്ഥചെയ്താൽ പോരയോ?

Mr. S. Veeriah Reddiar : തമിഴ് സംസാരിക്കുന്നവക്കു തമിഴ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം എല്ലാ സ്ഥലത്തും ഇല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഞാൻ ഇതു പറയേണ്ടിവന്നതു്.

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : ഒരു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപരിഷ്കരണപദ്ധതി രൂപീകരിക്കുവാൻ നിയുക്തമായ കമ്മിറ്റി സ്വീകരിക്കേണ്ട ആദർശം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികാം പഠിക്കേണ്ട എല്ലാ വിഷയങ്ങളേയും നിവൃത്തിയുള്ളിടത്തോളം ഒരു ചട്ടക്കൂട്ടിൽ ഉാംപ്പെടുത്തുക എന്നുള്ളതാണ്. ശാസ്ത്രീയമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമോ, തൊഴിൽപരമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമോ ഏതായാലും ശരി, അവയെല്ലാം ഒരു പൊതുവായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപദ്ധതിയിൽ ഉാംപ്പെടുത്തി പഠിപ്പിക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതാണു ലക്ഷ്യമായി സ്വീകരിക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഒരു പ്രത്യേകമായ വിദ്യാലയം എപ്പോഴും ഒരു കുട്ടിയെ ഏകപക്ഷമായ മാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽനിന്നു വ്യതിചലിപ്പിക്കുകയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. അതു് അയാളുടെ സമ്പൂർണ്ണമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു ഹാനികരവും അയാാം പ്രാപിക്കേണ്ട സമ്പൂർണ്ണമായ വികാസത്തിനു പ്രതിബന്ധവുമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെ വരുന്ന ഘട്ടത്തിൽ മാത്രമേ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു പ്രത്യേകസ്വഭാവത്തിലുള്ള വിദ്യാലയങ്ങാം ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ പാടുള്ളൂ.

ഈ കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ ശുപാർശയുടെ ഒരു പ്രധാന തത്വം ശരിക്കു ഗ്രഹിക്കാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ഇടയായതു്. സംസ്കൃതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, അറബിക്കുവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഇവയെ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai]

സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം പ്രത്യേകം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസങ്ങൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്താൻ കമ്മിറ്റി ശുപാർശചെയ്യുന്നതായാലും ഈ ഭാഷകളുടെ അഭ്യസനത്തിൽ വേണ്ടവിധത്തിലുള്ള നിഷ്കർഷയും അഭിവൃദ്ധിയും സാധാരണ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ മുഖേന സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ്. ഇന്നു തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ മലയാളവും തമിഴുംമിഡിൽസ്കൂളുകളും ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്മിഡിൽസ്കൂളുകളുമുണ്ട്. മലയാളവും തമിഴും ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളും ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളുമുണ്ട്.

Mr. S. Veeriah Reddiar : അങ്ങനെയുള്ള തമിഴ്മിഡിൽ സ്കൂളുകളും ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളും ഇന്ന് ഏതാനും ചില സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രമല്ലേ ഉള്ളു. ആലപ്പുഴ, കായങ്കുളം മുതലായ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ താമസിക്കുന്ന തമിഴർക്ക് ഇപ്പോൾ തമിഴ്വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ലഭിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള സ്കൂളുകൾ ഇല്ലല്ലോ?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഞാൻ പിന്നീടു പറയാം. പ്രമേയപ്രയോക്താവിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെപ്പറ്റി പരാമർശിച്ചതിനുശേഷം മി. റെഡ്യാരുടെ ചോദ്യത്തിനുത്തരം ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളാം.

മലയാളവും തമിഴും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസശാഖയുടെ പ്രവർത്തനം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപരിഷ്കാരത്തെപ്പറ്റി ചിന്തിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള എല്ലാ കമ്മിറ്റികളുടേയും തീക്ഷ്ണമായ നിരൂപണത്തിനു പാത്രമായിട്ടുണ്ട്. സ്റ്റാന്ഡിംഗ് കമ്മിറ്റി ഈ ശാഖയെ സമൂലം പരിഷ്കരിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്ന അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടകയും അതിലേയ്ക്കു ശ്രദ്ധേയമായ ചില തീരുമാനങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുകയുമുണ്ടായി. ഈ കമ്മിറ്റിയും ഏറ്റവും ഗാഢമായി ആലോചിച്ച വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്ന് ഈ നിലയിൽനിന്നും പുരോഗമിപ്പിക്കാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ ആയിരുന്നു. അപൂർണ്ണമായ സാധനസാമഗ്രികൾ, അപര്യാപ്തമായ ശിക്ഷണക്രമം, കളിക്കുറവ് മറ്റുമുള്ള അസൌകര്യങ്ങൾ, ഇവ മിക്കവാറും എല്ലാ തമിഴ് മലയാളം സ്കൂളുകളുടേയും ലക്ഷണമാണ്. എന്നാൽ അഭ്യസനം മാതൃഭാഷയിൽതന്നെ നടത്തുന്നുവെന്നുള്ള ഒരു വലിയ ഗുണവും ഉണ്ട്. ഈ കമ്മിറ്റി പ്രധാനമായി ശ്രമിച്ചത് നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്ന മലയാളം സ്കൂളുകളിലും ഇംഗ്ലീഷ്സ്കൂളുകളിലും ഉള്ള ഗുണങ്ങൾ സ്വീകരിക്കുകയും ദോഷങ്ങൾ നിരാകരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ഒരു പദ്ധതി രൂപീകരിക്കുന്നതിനായിരുന്നു. ഇനിമേൽ ഒരു തരം മിഡിൽ സ്കൂളും ഒരുതരം ഹൈസ്കൂളും മാത്രമേ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കാവൂ എന്നും അവിടെ മാതൃഭാഷയിൽ മാത്രമേ അഭ്യസനം നടത്താവൂ എന്നും കമ്മിറ്റി തീരുമാനിച്ചു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് നിർബന്ധിതമായ ഉപഭാഷ ആയിരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും.

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Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai : ഇംഗ്ലീഷും തമിഴും മലയാളവും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രത്യേകം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു വാദ്ധ്യാർ ഉണ്ടാ യിരിക്കുമോ?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai: ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് പഠി പ്പിക്കുന്നതു് ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് അറിയാവുന്ന ആൾ ആയിരിക്കും. മല യാളം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു മലയാളം അറിയാവുന്ന ആൾ ആയിരിക്കും. അതു പോലെ തമിഴറിയാവുന്ന ആൾ തമിഴ് പഠിപ്പിക്കും. അതു പ്രത്യേകം പറഞ്ഞറിയിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. എന്നാൽ സംസ്കൃതമോ, അറബി യോ മാതൃഭാഷയുടെ സ്ഥാനത്തു സാധാരണസ്കൂളുകളിൽ പഠിപ്പിക്കു വാൻ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് അവ രണ്ടും പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു പ്രത്യേ ക സ്കൂളുകൾ അനുവദിച്ചും എന്നാൽ ഒരു സംസ്കൃതഹൈസ്കൂൾ എന്നോ, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഒരു അറബിക് ഹൈസ്കൂൾ എന്നോ ഈ കമ്മിറ്റി പറയുമ്പോൾ അവ മാത്രം പ്രത്യേകം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സ്കൂൾ എന്നല്ല അർത്ഥമാക്കേണ്ടതു്. സാധാരണ അക്കാഡമിക് ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളിൽ സംസ്കൃതമോ, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ, അറബിയോ കൂടെ പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നു എന്നു മാത്രമേയുള്ളൂ. സാധാരണ സ്കൂളിൽ ഏതെല്ലാം വിഷയങ്ങൾ ഒരു വിദ്യാ ർത്ഥിക്കു പഠിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ടോ, ആ വിഷയങ്ങളെല്ലാം സംസ്കൃതവും അറ ബിക്കും സ്കൂളുകളിലും പഠിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ടു്. കൂടാതെ സംസ്കൃതമോ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ അറബിയോ പഠിക്കുകയും വേണം.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai : സംസ്കൃതം പഠിപ്പി ക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി മറ്റു് അക്കാഡമിക്സ്കൂളിലുള്ള എല്ലാവിഷയങ്ങളും പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : എല്ലാ വിഷ യങ്ങളും പഠിപ്പിക്കും. കൂടുതലായി സംസ്കൃതവും പഠിപ്പിക്കും.

Mr. K. S. Joseph : ഈ വിഷയങ്ങളും സംസ്കൃതസ്കൂളുകളിൽ ഏതുഭാഷയിലാണു പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു്?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : മാതൃഭാഷയിൽ തന്നെ. മറ്റു് അക്കാഡമിക്ക് സ്കൂളുമായി സംസ്കൃതസ്കൂളുകൾക്കു് ഒരു വ്യത്യാസവുമില്ല. സംസ്കൃതവും കൂടി ഉണ്ടെന്നു മാത്രം. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ അറബിക്സ്കൂളും.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai : ഇതുപോലെ അവിടവിടെ തമിഴ്സ്കൂളുകളും ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുമോ?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : സംസ്കൃതം അല്ലെങ്കിൽ അറബി പഠിക്കുവാൻ വരുന്നവരുടെ മാതൃഭാഷ തമിഴാണെങ്കിൽ അവർ തമിഴിൽതന്നെയാണു മറ്റു വിഷയങ്ങളും പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു്.

Mr. S. Veeriah Reddiar : ഇപ്പോൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന മലയാളം സ്കൂളുകളിൽ തമിഴ് പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു സൗകര്യം കൊടുക്കുമോ?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : കൊടുക്കാം. അതിനു ഒരു വിഷമവുമില്ല. അതു വെറും ഭരണപരമായി വരുത്തേണ്ട ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥയാണെന്നേയുള്ളൂ. ഒരു ക്ലാസുള്ള ഒരു തമിഴ്സ്കൂൾ ഉണ്ടെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുക. ഇതിൻമേൽ അദ്ദേഹം ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു് തമിഴ് ഭാഷയിൽ പാണ്ഡിത്യംസമ്പാദിക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരു സ്കൂൾവേണമെന്നാണു്. പാണ്ഡിത്യം എന്നു പറയുന്നതിന് എപ്പോഴും ഒരു പരിമിതിയുണ്ടു്. ഓരോ വിദ്യാലയത്തിന്റേയും നില അനുസരിച്ചേ ഓരോ വിഷയത്തിലും പാണ്ഡിത്യം ഉണ്ടാകുകയുള്ളൂ. ഓരോ ക്ലാസിൽ സിദ്ധിക്കുന്ന പാണ്ഡിത്യത്തിനും ഇന്ന പരിമിതി നാം കാണുന്നു. അപ്പോൾ പ്രത്യേകം ഒരു തമിഴ്സ്കൂൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിരുന്നാലും ആ സ്കൂളിൽ പഠിക്കുന്ന ഒരു വിദ്യാർത്ഥിക്കു തമിഴിൽ എത്രമാത്രം പാണ്ഡിത്യം നേടുവാൻ കഴിയുമെന്നുള്ളതിനും ഒരു പരിമിതിയുണ്ടു്.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai : ഇപ്പോൾ ഇത്തരം സ്കൂളുകളിൽ ട്രാൻസ്ലേഷൻമാത്രമേ ഈ ഭാഷ ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തുന്നുള്ളൂവോ. എല്ലാ വിഷയവും ആ ഭാഷയിൽതന്നെ പഠിപ്പിച്ചുവെന്നാണോ?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : തമിഴ് അക്കാഡമിക് സ്കൂളുകളിൽ എല്ലാ വിഷയങ്ങളും തമിഴിൽതന്നെയാണു പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്നതെന്നു ഞാൻ വളരെ പ്രാവശ്യം പറഞ്ഞു.

മാതൃഭാഷാ ക്ലാസിൽ പഠിക്കുന്നതിനും പുറമേ തമിഴ് സാഹിത്യംകൂടി പ്രത്യേകമായി പഠിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ തമിഴ് ഐച്ഛികമായി എടുക്കാം. കമ്മിറ്റി അതിനും അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. തമിഴ സംസാരിക്കുന്നിടത്തെല്ലാം തമിഴ്ഹൈസ്കൂളും തമിഴ്മിഡിൽസ്കൂളും സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതായിരിക്കും. അവിടെ തമിഴ് പഠിക്കാം. മലയാളം സംസാരിക്കുന്നിടത്തു മലയാളം സ്കൂളുകളും സ്ഥാപിക്കും; അവിടെ മലയാളം പഠിക്കാം. എല്ലാവിഷയങ്ങളും മാതൃഭാഷയിൽ പഠിക്കാം. ഇതിനും പുറമേ മാതൃഭാഷ ഐച്ഛികമായും പഠിക്കാം. ഇതു മുന്നുകൊണ്ടും തമിഴിൽ പാ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ണ്ഡിത്യം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ അത്തരത്തിലുള്ള പാണ്ഡിത്യം സാധാരണ സ്കൂൾകൊണ്ടു ലഭിക്കാൻ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. അതിന് വിദ്വാൻപരീക്ഷയ്ക്കു മറ്റൊരു ചേരുണം.

Mr. T. M Chidambarathanu Pillai : പുതിയ പദ്ധതി അനുസരിച്ചു വിദ്വാൻപരീക്ഷകൂടിയുണ്ടോ?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : ഉണ്ട്. ഇപ്പോഴും വിദ്വാൻപരീക്ഷ ഉണ്ടല്ലോ.?

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan : മലയാളത്തിൽ മാത്രം പഠിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സ്കൂളിൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വിദ്യാർത്ഥിക്ക് തമിഴ് പഠിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ എന്തു ചെയ്യണം?

Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai : ഇതു സാധാരണ ഒഴിച്ചുകൂടാത്തതും സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലാത്തതുമായ ഒരു ഏർപ്പാടാണ്. ഞാൻ ഇൻടർമീഡിയറ്റ് ക്ലാസിൽ പഠിച്ചതു മലയാളമില്ലാത്ത സ്ഥലത്തായിരുന്നു. ഞാൻ ഉപഭാഷയായി പഠിച്ചതു ഇംഗ്ലീഷായിരുന്നു. അതുപോലെ തമിഴ് ഇല്ലാത്ത സ്ഥലത്തു തമിഴ് പഠിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതെങ്ങിനെ?

ഇതൊക്കെയാണെങ്കിലും പ്രമേയപ്രകാരവും പ്രത്യേകം തമിഴ്വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ വേണമെന്നതന്നെയാണ് ഇനിയും പറയുന്നതെങ്കിൽ എനിക്കഭിപ്രായത്തോടു ഒന്നപേക്ഷിക്കുവാനുണ്ട്. കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ടു വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും സിലബസ് തയാറാക്കിയിട്ടില്ല. അതു തയാറാക്കുന്നതുമുള്ളു. സിലബസ് പുറപ്പെടുവരുന്നതുവരെ അഭിപ്രായം കാത്തിരിക്കട്ടെ. സിലബസ് അനുസരിച്ചു തമിഴ് പഠിത്തം തുടർന്നുപോകുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അഭിപ്രായം വിചാരിക്കുന്ന പാണ്ഡിത്യം അപ്പോൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ കഴിയുമോ എന്നു അഭിപ്രായത്തിനു നോക്കാം. ഇക്കൂട്ടുകൂടി മനസിൽ വച്ചുകൊണ്ടു സിലബസ് തയാറാക്കാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നതാണ്. സിലബസിൻപ്രകാരം പഠിക്കുന്ന തമിഴ്വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽനിന്നും അഭിപ്രായം ആശിക്കുന്ന പാണ്ഡിത്യം സമ്പാദിക്കുവാൻ കഴിയുമോഎന്നു പരീക്ഷിച്ചുനോക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു, അതുവരെ ഈ പ്രമേയം പ്രസ് ചെയ്യരുതെന്നപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. തമിഴിനു സാഹിത്യപരമായ അഭ്യാസം കൂടി നൽകുന്നതിനിലയിൽ ഒരു സിലബസ് ഞങ്ങൾ തയാറാക്കാം.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai]

അതിനാൽ, തൽക്കാലം ഈ പ്രമേയം പിൻവലിക്കണമെന്നും സിലബസ്സ് തയാറാക്കിയതിനുശേഷം ആവശ്യമെന്നു കണ്ടാൽ അപ്പോൾ മാത്രം ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി പുനരാലോചന ചെയ്യണമെന്നും ഞാൻ മി. ചിതംബരനാണുപിള്ളയോടപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: സർ, ഈ തീർമാനത്തെക്കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ടി വന്നതിൽ നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമെണ്ടിനുതന്നെ കടുത്ത ലജ്ജയുണ്ട്. ഇതുപോലെ ഒരു തീർമാനം ഒന്നു രണ്ടു മാസം മുമ്പ് എം. കൃഷ്ണപിള്ള എന്നവരാൽ കൊണ്ടുവരപ്പെട്ടു തോല്പിക്കപ്പെടുകയുണ്ടായി. അതിനുശേഷം നമ്മുടെ മന്ത്രിമാരുടെ മനസ്സിനെ പുണ്യപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കും ഇപ്പോൾ ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു തീർമാനം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിനു പ്രേരിതരായത്. ഇതുപോലെ അതിനുമുമ്പ് ഇവിടെ ഒരു തീർമാനം കൊണ്ടുവന്നപ്പോൾ അതിനെ എതിർത്തവരുടെ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ഞാനുമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ ഈ തീർമാനത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നതിനു കാരണം ഇതിനുമുമ്പ് ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്ന തീർമാനത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശ്യം ഇതിനില്ലെന്നുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടാണ്. ഇതിനുമുമ്പ് കൊണ്ടുവന്ന തീർമാനത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശ്യം ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവർമെണ്ടിനെ ഒന്നു കുത്തുകയായിരുന്നു. ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവർമെണ്ടിനെ കുത്തുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ഒരു തീർമാനം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ ഒരിക്കലും പങ്കുകൊള്ളുകയില്ല

that at the beginning of the Middle School stage is the natural stage for separate schools for boys and girls if you want. Separate schools may be had provided people need them and do require them.

Mr. G. Revi Varma: I beg to withdraw my resolution in view of the exposition given.

The resolution was by leave of the House withdrawn.

Mr. K. A. Raman Pillai: I do not move any of the further resolutions standing in my name.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: Sir, I beg to move that:

"This Council recommends to Government that a College of Agriculture and Veterinary be started in Travancore."

Sir, it is becoming increasingly difficult to get admission in the Agricultural Colleges situated in and near the Madras Presidency. There are two Agricultural Colleges, one in Coimbatore and the other in Mysore. There is also another College in Nagpur. My information is that nobody from Travancore gets admission in those places. Travancore as is well known is an agricultural country. There is the scientific side of that subject which has to be developed for which a college is essential.

President: That matter I understand is under the consideration of the University. A Faculty for Agriculture has been recommended by the Committee and the whole question will have to be considered by Government in the first instance. I may tell the honourable member that that subject will certainly be considered.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: Then, I beg to withdraw the resolution.

President: Does any honourable member wish to have a general discussion on the Report.

Mr. G. Revi Varma: Sir, my only point is that subject to the recommendations of the Assembly and this House, the whole Report should be adopted and worked out in toto. In the case of the Statham Committee Report, the Government did not accept certain proposals and certain changes were introduced after the Statham Report came into being. That was not to our advantage.

President: Government naturally cannot put into practice the recommendations of the Report *ipsissima verba*. At the same time, no Government can fail to take into consideration the opinions expressed here. There are one or two factors. Firstly the Assembly has passed certain resolutions and so far as I can see

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[President]

this House too has passed certain resolutions and there is the report presented by 43 persons who have displayed a singular and most commendable unanimity and it will be very difficult to cast aside all the opinions of those authentically able and competent bodies from the point of view of Government and to take a line of its own. Further, that is not likely.

Mr. U. Revi Varma: All that I am anxious now is that we are not concerned with recommendations of a minor character. We have resolved upon some of the fundamentals. All those may be put into practice.

Mr. K. C. Chandy: Sir, on behalf of the Catholic members in this House, I wish to make a statement. The honourable member Mr. Raman Pillai moved a resolution saying that Government be pleased to take the necessary steps to take up the whole control and management of Primary education in the State as a preliminary measure to the introduction of compulsory education. The Government members also voted in favour of that position. In view of such official support, I regret to inform you that we, the Catholic members have, as a protest, decided not to take part in the voting on the adoption of the Report.

Mr. A. N. Satyanesan: സർ, മൌലികമായ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിർബന്ധിതമാക്കുമ്പോൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന ചില പ്രത്യേകസംഗതികളെക്കുറിച്ചു പ്രസ്താവിക്കുവാനാണു ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതു്. ഒന്നാമതു ക്ലിപ്തമായ പ്രായത്തിലുള്ള വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കു, നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുക എന്നുള്ളതാണു പ്രധാനമായി ഗവൺമെൻറു കയ്യേൽക്കുന്നതു്. അതോടുകൂടി പ്രായപൂർത്തി വന്നിട്ടുള്ളവരും അക്ഷരാഭ്യാസം സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടില്ലാത്തവരും ആയ ആളുകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള പ്രശ്നം നമ്മുടെ മുമ്പിൽ ആവിർഭവിക്കുന്നു. വയോജനവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു കമ്മിറ്റി പ്രത്യേകം ചില സൂചനകൾ, നൽകുന്നു എങ്കിലും ഖണ്ഡിതമായ പരിപാടി യാതൊന്നും വ്യക്തമാക്കീട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നില്ല. വയോജനവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പല വിധത്തിലുള്ള പ്രൊപഗൻഡ/ഏജൻസികൾ പ്രവർത്തനം നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതായി എനിക്കറിയാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. നാഷണൽ ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ കൌൺസിലിന്റെ ആഭിമുഖ്യത്തിൽ അവരുടെ ഗ്രാന്റോടുകൂടി ഒരു പ്രസ്ഥാനം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ആരംഭിച്ചു പുരോഗതി പ്രാപിച്ചുവരുന്നതായി കാണ്മാനുണ്ടു. അങ്ങനെ ഏതെങ്കിലും പ്രൊപഗൻഡ/ഏജൻസികൾ വയോജനവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ ശ്രദ്ധപതിപ്പി

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ക്കുന്നപക്ഷം അവക്ക് ഗ്രാൻറ് കൊടുത്തു് ഈ പ്രോത്സാഹനം നൽകുന്ന വിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ശ്രദ്ധപതിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു കൊള്ളാം. അതുപോലെതന്നെ, സാങ്കേതികവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നിയന്ത്രിക്കുന്നതിനു ഡയറക്ടരുടെ കീഴിൽ ഒരു പ്രത്യേക ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരെ നിയമിക്കുന്നതു പുരോഗമിച്ചുവരുന്ന വ്യവസായതാല്പര്യത്തെ പരിരക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണെന്നു് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നു.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കഴിഞ്ഞു് അനേകം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ കാലാകാലങ്ങളിൽ വേർപെട്ടുപോകാറുള്ളതു് സർവ്വസാധാരണമാണു്. അവരുടെ സംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപുരോഗതിക്കും വേണ്ടി ഒരു ലൈബ്രറി പ്രസ്ഥാനം രാജ്യത്തു് സാവ്രതികമായി വ്യാപരിക്കേണ്ട അത്യാവശ്യകതയെ ഉണർത്തുന്നതിനും എനിക്കു കർത്തവ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിലേക്ക് ഒരു സെൻട്രൽലൈബ്രറി സ്ഥാപിക്കുക, ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട് ലൈബ്രറി സ്ഥാപിക്കുക, ഗ്രാമീണലൈബ്രറികളും രാജ്യത്തു് ക്രമേണ വ്യാപരിപ്പിക്കുക, ഇതാണു് എന്റെ നിർദ്ദേശം. അതിനുവേണ്ടി ഒരു അഡൈ്വസറികമ്മിറ്റിയും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസഡയറക്ടരുടെ നിയന്ത്രണത്തിൽ ഒരു പ്രത്യേകഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനും അവശ്യം വേണ്ടതാണു്. അതിലേക്കു തക്ക ഏർപ്പാടുകൾ ചെയ്യുന്നതു സമുചിതമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപരിവർത്തനത്തിനു് അത്യന്തം സഹായകമാണെന്നു ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ വിരമിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: Sir, a reading of the whole report has suggested to me that there is too much of vocational bias and rather too little concentration on the academic and cultural side of education. Certainly, if education does not help a man to get on in life in some profession or other, it does not help much. That position is true. Nevertheless, I am afraid the cultural aspect has rather receded to the background.

President: The honourable member will realise that even in the suggested curricula for the various stages of education, there are a number of cultural subjects included for study and I take it that the committee had no idea of ignoring the cultural aspect of education.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I do not believe they wanted to ignore it. But that seems to have slightly receded in the background.

President: At the present moment we are apt to take the other view.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I may refer particularly to the pre-University education. One year training or as Mr. Papworth suggested, this morning, in some cases, two years training, will

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. K. S. Joseph]

not to my mind give enough background for collegiate education or university education even after the vocational bias which runs through the whole vein of the Middle school and High school courses. At least English is to be the medium of education in the University which I believe we will have to accept for the next 10 or 12 years. I suggest that because I believe our idea is to move forward in conformity with the rest of India. We have to think of our future education in terms of India in general and not of our State alone in particular. We have to think also what is going to be the future *lingua franca*.

President: The committee and the Government are fully aware that as things have developed, the only language which has pretensions of universality will be the English language. It is very clear that there will be only two languages namely English and Russian, and French will be relegated to the drawing room and the kitchen. Such being the case, Government have naturally made English a compulsory second language. What is the particular point which the honourable member wants to make?

Mr. K. S. Joseph: This report did not give us any concrete idea as to what language we were going to use for our University courses.

President: Absolutely English.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: It is stated so in the Report.

President: Whatever doubt there may be, it is only up to the University course that instruction will be imparted in the mother tongue. It has been found that by imparting education in English up to the High School stage, the unfortunate student is more worried about the words than the substance. He does not competely comprehend matters. The University will have to be put in line with the rest of the world and I take it that very soon provision will be made for the study of German and Russian and other languages. Provision is also necessary for the purpose of undergoing training in certain higher sciences. The honourable member may take it from me that so far as this Government are concerned—I do not at this juncture want to say against the illustrious exemplars like the Osmania University and others of that kind—the medium of instruction will only be English.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I raised that point particularly because there is a move in British India to adopt Hindi as the medium of instruction.

President: For higher education also?

Mr. K. S. Joseph: Yes, Sir. Suppose we think in terms of the future.....

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President: There is one difficulty about that. A controversy has been going on in the adoption of a universal language for India. The question is whether every Indian should be bilingual or rather tri-lingual. Mahatma Gandhi has now stated that every one should learn to read and write as well as speak in Hindi and Urdu. Certain other colleagues of his differ and they stated that Hindi must be the universal language. On account of the controversy Mahatma Gandhi has resigned his connection with that organisation. He says that there cannot be any single Rashtra Basha. There must be two languages at least *i. e.*, to say, Hindi and Urdu. The languages to be adopted must be known to every body and nothing could be done without an idea of that. That is the trend of thought about languages in British India.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: That is why I draw the attention of Government to this point. Then again, there is the other point namely, up to the High School course certainly in Mathematics and Science subjects, a number of new terms will be required. Are we going to adopt the new terms from English or from some other languages? There are also certain other important points which would come up for consideration.

President: A Tamil lexicon has been prepared in the Madras University. It gives scientific equivalents in Tamil and as far as possible a number of branches of Science subjects have come under its ambit. In a number of cases English terms have been adopted and Tamil in the case of a few. The preparation of a Malayalam lexicon is under contemplation. This Government have promised to pay 50 per cent. of the total cost provided the Cochin and Madras Governments pay up the remaining 50 per cent. and the moment we can get collaboration from them, the work on the Malayalam lexicon will commence.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: We have already prepared a glossary in scientific terms.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: These are matters which have to be kept particularly in mind when we think of future education here. Is this University going to develop Malayalam which is the language not merely of this State but also of Cochin and British Malabar? Are we going to develop Malayalam for all these units together or are we going to have our own way in the development of that language? When we take up University reorganization it would have been helpful for the committee to touch these points. But as they have not done so, I am not able to offer any constructive suggestion on that side. But I would earnestly request Government to think over this aspect of the problem and see what our policy is going to be.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. M. K. Mackar Pillai (*Nominated*): സർ, നിർബന്ധിത പ്രൈമറി വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പിലാക്കാൻ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയതിൽ ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ അഭിനന്ദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. പ്രൈവറ്റ് സ്കൂളുകൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും ഏറ്റെടുക്കുമെന്നു കാണുന്നതിലും ഞാൻ സന്തോഷിക്കുന്നു. ഞാൻ ഒരു പ്രൈവറ്റ്സ്കൂൾ നടത്തുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്റെ ത്യാഗബുദ്ധികൊണ്ടല്ല, മാനേജുമെൻറ്സ്കൂൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ഏറ്റെടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ സന്തോഷിക്കുന്നതു്; എന്റെ സ്വാർത്ഥത കൊണ്ടാണു്. സാധാരണ പ്രൈവറ്റ്സ്കൂളുകളിലെ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർക്കു രണ്ടുരൂപയോ മറ്റോ ആണു് ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കുന്നതു്. ൨ രൂപാ ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽ നിന്നും ഗ്രാൻറും കൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. പക്ഷേ ഞാൻ നടത്തുന്ന സ്കൂളിനുവേണ്ടി അണ്ടുതോറും ൧൫൦൦ രൂപാ ഞാൻ നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കയാണു്. ആ സ്കൂൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ഏറ്റെടുക്കുന്നതായാൽ എനിക്കു് അണ്ടിൽ ൧൫൦൦ രൂപായുടെ ലാഭം ഉണ്ടാകും.

President: Government expect the honourable members like the speaker not to be content with that but to subsidise Government towards education.

Mr. M. K. Mackar Pillai: സർ, ഞാൻ അവിടെ ൨൦,൦൫൦ രൂപാ ചെലവാക്കി കെട്ടിടം കെട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതെല്ലാം വിട്ടതന്നേക്കാം. അതിലേക്കുള്ള കാമ്പൻസേഷൻ തന്നാൽ വേണ്ട.

നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ അല്ല ആദ്യം നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്താനുള്ളതു്? പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ ഇതല്ലാതെതന്നെ ധാരാളം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസസൌകര്യങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടു്. നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിൽ തീരെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസസൌകര്യമില്ലാത്ത സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ വളരെയുണ്ടു്. അവിടെ ആദ്യമായി നിർബന്ധിതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തേണ്ടതാണെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം.

Mr. H. C. Papworth: Sir, I am very glad, if I may say so with a sense of modesty, that the House seems to have been pleased with the fundamental recommendations of the Education Re-organisation Committee's Report. As I said at the beginning, it was the committee's deliberate intention to eschew small details and hypothetical possibilities and to concentrate upon fundamental principles of educational reform. I find with deep pleasure that this House has expressed its approval of one or two of the fundamental reforms suited to this country in the matter of education

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Hence there is very little for me to say in winding up this debate. But in one case, this House seems to have gone beyond what we recommended, and that is in the question of the management of primary education. I was not surprised at the logical step taken by the House in that particular matter. As I said in my opening remarks when the Committee recommended that Government should pay 75 per cent. of the salary of the primary school teachers, and left open the question as to whether financial aid in the direction of subsidies for equipment, laboratory, libraries, buildings etc, should continue to be paid, the discussion centred round the vital points discussed in this House. Logically, the question is this:—'If the Government are going to pay so much as 75 per cent. why should they not pay the remaining small balance of 25 per cent. as well, and have complete control in their own hands, so that they may be assured of uniform efficiency in the matter of primary education? Sir, the resolutions of this House and the other House in this direction will undoubtedly strengthen the hands of Government. That is the only path along which the Houses of the Travancore Legislature have travelled beyond the Education Re-organisation Committee's report.

I have nothing more to say except this, that I was rather amused at Mr. Joseph's accusation that the education committee's recommendations have been modelled too much on the lines of vocational bias, and that there is not a sufficient background of culture. As I said this morning, we deliberately kept our eyes on post-war developments; and the one thing that education has lacked more than anything else is a close relationship or contact with life. Therefore we have made proposals to emphasise the vocational aspect of education, and without fear, I can say that the cultural side of education stands no risk of neglect at all. I will go further and say that there is as much sound and genuine culture in technological and commercial education as in the old fashioned academic learning. There is as much culture in making a perfect piece of mechanism, in the production of a perfect piece of craftsmanship, or a perfect work of art, as there is in the knowledge of any number of languages, classical or modern. We are very wrong in thinking that culture is confined to the study of academic subjects. If this Report is adopted, I think we should be able to produce a more highly cultured people in the genuine sense of the word. The committee is now dissolved, and it remains for me to offer on behalf of my colleagues and myself our grateful thanks to the members of this House for the time and careful consideration they have given to our recommendations.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President: Before putting this motion to vote, I feel it my duty to refer in passing to what fell from the honourable member Mr. Chandy. He stated what was rather painful to me namely, that, because Government members also voted in favour of Mr. Raman Pillai's resolution dealing with the management of schools he felt it incumbent upon himself to announce on behalf of his colleagues that they would not take part in the vote. Once again, I wish perfectly definitely and unequivocally, to give the assurance to Mr. Chandy and his colleagues that in supporting that resolution there is not the slightest desire to work against the interests of any management. All that this Government are anxious to do is to assume responsibility for compulsory primary education consistently with and parallel to that responsible work and those traditions and obligations of independent and private managements as are intended will be preserved and may well be cherished. With that assurance, I leave the decision to the honourable member.

The question that the Re-organisation Committee Report be adopted was put and carried.

The motion was passed.

The House adjourned sine die at 6-25 P. M.

S. VAIDYANATHA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Sri Chitra State Council.

Trivandrum,
18th August 1945.

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